DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 197 019	UD 021 115
TITLE	Proceedings of Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Asian-Pacific-American Women (San Francisco, California, August 24-25, 1976). August 24-25, 1976).
INSTITUTION	National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	Oct 80
NOTE	379p.: Some tables and appendices may be marginally legible due to small print.
AVAILABLE FROM	Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC16 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Academic Achievement: *Asian Americans: Child Rearing: Elementary Secondary Education: Employment Level: *Equal Education: *Equal Opportunities (Jobs): Family (Sociological Unit): *Females: Feminism: Immigrants: Mental Health: Nontraditional Education: Older Adults: Postsecondary Education: Professional Education: Socialization: Social Mobility: Socioeconomic Status: Spouses

ABSTRACT

Papers presented at a conference on Asian and Pacific American women held by the National Institute of Education in 1976 are published in this document. In addition, the individual and group recommendations of the participants are included. The first three sections present an overview of the conference, the keynote address, and a summary of recommendations. The fourth section is devoted to five papers presented by community organizers. They address the issues of childrearing practices, mental health, women's organizations, professional health education, and educational alternatives. The fifth section presents seven papers by researchers and a summary of recommendations. Topics addressed in this section include immigration, kinship systems and educational and occupational attainment, early socialization of female children, economic and employment statuses, social mobility, the elderly, and Asian wives of U.S. servicemen. Appendices list the names and addresses of conference participants and present information on a sample of relevant NIE-funded projects. (MK)

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ED197019

CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL NEEDS OF ASIAN-PACIFIC-AMERICAN WOMEN

August 24 and 25, 1976

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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FOREWORD

The National Institute of Education (NIE) was created by Congress in 1972 as the primary Federal agency for educational research and development. It is now part of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. NIE's policy is established by the National Council on Educational Research, whose 15 members are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

The Institute's mission is twofold: to promote educational equity and to improve the quality of educational practice. To this end, NIE supports research and dissemination activities that will help individuals--regardless of race, sex, age, economic status, ethnic origin, or handicapping condition--realize their full potential through education.

To address the issues of educational and occupational equality for women and to identify factors contributing to the underrepresentation of minority women in education and work, NIE held a series of conferences between 1975 and 1978 to solicit the views of Black, Hispanic-American, Asian-Pacific-American, American Indian, and white ethnic women. This volume contains the papers presented at the conference on the concerns of Asian-Pacific-American women as well as individual and group recommendations from the participants. Included are policy, research, social, and humanitarian concerns, much of whose implementation fall beyond the mission, purview, and resources of NIE and the Department of Education. Therefore, NIE is now making them available to a wider audience.

These conferences were conceived, planned, and coordinated by the former Women's Research Program at NIE. In 1978, the administrative structure at NIE was reorganized into three broad program areas: Teaching and Learning (T & L); Educational Policy and Organization (EPO); and Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (DIP). The program activities previously undertaken by the Women's Research Program were expanded to involve three groups: the Social Processes/Women's Research Team in the Learning and Development unit of T & L; the Women's Studies Team in EPO; and the Minorities and Women's Program in DIP. Several other teams focus their attention on special topics such as women and mathematics, career development in women, and teenage pregnancy.

The minority women's conference marked the initial step in opening a dialog among researchers, practitioners, activists, policymakers, and a Federal educational agency. The actual publication of the conference reports has experienced various delays, but NIE has already acted on many conference recommendations. For instance, recent grants competitions have emphasized participation by minorities and women as grant recipients, reviewers, panelists, and as the target population in current research efforts. A sample of recent NIE-sponsored research focusing on minority women's issues is given in appendix B.

The research agenda for minorities and women at NIE has grown considerably since the first conference 4 years ago. The Social Processes/Women's Research Team is developing a research area plan that focuses on how the immediate social environment affects the learning, development, and lifetime opportunities of the individual. The Minorities and Women's Program is sponsoring programs to strengthen minority and women policymakers and researchers. In addition, many organizations, such as the National Commission on Working Women, emerged as a direct result of the conferences.

Credit for making the conferences a reality goes to Jean Lipman-Blumen, head of the former Women's Research Program, and the members of her team--Christina Hristakos, Carol Crump, and Joan Aliberti. Credit for making the conferences a success goes to the patient and devoted participants, the chairpersons, and the innumerable behind-the-scenes contributors who supplied invaluable contacts, advice, encouragement, and motivation. Rosalind Wu supervised the final editorial process. This publication is a tribute to the labors and generosity of all those people.

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I. Overview

CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW

Asian-Pacific-American women are descended from proud traditions as diverse as they are ancient. They speak over 40 languages with innumerable dialectal variations and come from ancestral lands scattered over one-third of the globe. They represent a mosaic of people: immigrants and refugees who fled from political and economic tyranny, college graduates who adopted the country of their alma maters, long-suffering wives who joined their husbands after years of imposed separation, war brides who followed their foreign husbands to an uncertain future, second- and later-generation Americans who search for their individual and ethnic identity, elderly grandmothers who cling on to a disappearing heritage, and indigenous islanders who seek control over their native lands. Each has her unique tale of misery and triumph, of hope and fear. Yet they all share the double burden of racial and sexual discrimination under the same democratic government that has failed to recognize their special needs. Thus, on August 24 and 25, 1976, a small group of these women gathered at the Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Asian- and Pacific Island-American women in San Francisco, California, to make their voices heard by their government.

The purpose of the conference was to produce a research agenda to direct a program of research that will shape social policy on Asian-Pacific-American women's educational and occupational needs. By drawing on the outstanding expertise, varied backgrounds, and broad sensitivities of their representatives, the Government can then begin to develop clear and meaningful research goals.

The conference participants were 26 women representing the diverse heritages of China, Japan, Vietnam, Korea, Hawaii, Burma, and the Philippines. They were selected by National Institute of Education (NIE) staff from recommendations solicited over several months from numerous sources, primarily networks within the Asian-Pacific community. These participants brought a wide range of research and community expertise to the conference. Their ethnic affiliation, form of participation, and professional backgrounds are summarized in appendix A. The conferees pointed out that NIE should rectify the absence of Tongan, Guamanian, Samoan, and Asian-Indian representation at the conference.

On the 1st day of the conference, Juanita Tamayo Lott, then Acting Director of the Office of Asian American Affairs, DHEW, delivered the keynote speech, which is found in chapter II. Then 11 participants briefly presented background papers that NIE commissioned prior to the conference as a framework for discussion. Revised versions of the papers, based on the discussions and subsequent written exchanges, are included in this volume. The papers presented at the conference ranged among educational alternatives for Asian-Pacific women, their economic and employment status, socialization, aging, and social mobility of immigrants. However, the discussions extended far beyond the paper topics, which many participants considered as too narrow a representation of their disparate needs and interests. In the end, they formally recommended that NIE commission papers on Asian wives of U.S. servicemen and on Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders. The first of these papers is included in this volume, but the others had not yet been received at the time of this publication.

The major issues identified by the conferees were:

- The lack of accurate baseline data on Asian-Pacific communities in general and Asian-Pacific women in particular; the manner in which data are collected; and the characteristics and sensitivities of the people conducting the research.
- The lack of data on specific ethnic groups within the Asian-Pacific populations, specifically Guamanians, Micronesians, Native Hawaiians, Samoans, Tongans, Burmese, Cambodians, Laotians, Malaysians, and Thais.
- The lack of data on the "hidden" Asian-Pacific-American populations, that is, the elderly, those in the lower economic groups, and wives and children of mixed marriages.
- The special status and needs of Asian-Pacific wives of U.S. military personnel.
- The unique status of Native Hawaiians who are geographically, and in many instances culturally, related to Pacific Islanders but who have been legally grouped with Native Americans and Alaskans by an act of Congress in 1974.
- The need for the development of research instruments and alternative frameworks for analysis that will be responsive to Asian-Pacific cultures.
- Identification of the impediments to Asian-Pacific women organizing to bring about changes in the system which affect their lives.
- Identification of the factors that contribute to the disparate concentration of Asian-Pacific women in the lower levels of the work force despite high levels of education.
- Existing stereotypes of Asian-Pacific-Americans and the processes that perpetuate these stereotypes.

On the 2d day, the participants separated into two discussion groups, roughly divided into researchers and policymakers, to draw up recommendations. At a final plenary session, the chairpersons of the groups reported on the recommendations for further discussion. Chapters IV and V contain those reports.

In the final discussion, certain criteria were identified for conducting research related to Asian-Pacific-Americans, including:

- The potential for contributing to needed social changes.
- Concern with neglected groups such as lower socioeconomic groups, wives of U.S. servicemen, Pacific Islanders, housewives, and the elderly.
- Use of alternative theoretical and methodological approaches responsive to Asian-Pacific-Americans and emphasizing positive cultural and personality coping factors.
- Selections of researchers with sensitivity and commitment to Asian-Pacific-American concerns in addition to academic qualifications.
- Participation of Asian-Pacific-American communities in development and conduct of research related to them.

The policy recommendations from the group were aimed at increasing the impact of Asian-Pacific-American women on the policies and activities of agencies that affect their lives.

The participants directed NIE to disseminate the conference proceedings widely and swiftly. In July 1979 six of them met with the NIE project officer in San Francisco to review the available conference materials. They expressed disappointment in the delays in publishing this compendium and urged comprehensive coverage of Asian-Pacific interests in NIE policy.

One conference cannot do justice to the staggering array of problems and interests of such a vast and varied constituency. One volume cannot begin to recount all their needs and to spell out all the action required to address the needs of several million. However, "a journey of a thousand miles begins with but one step."

II. Keynote Address

CHAPTER II

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE SOCIAL RESEARCH OF SOCIAL MINORITIES: PACIFIC- AND ASIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN AND EDUCATION

Juanita Tamayo Lott

A reasonable outcome of the ever-growing awareness of the concerns of women and Pacific- and Asian-Americans is a gathering of Pacific- and Asian-American women to discuss two critical social issues: education and occupation. While such a gathering should be welcomed, encouraged, and supported, it is also appropriate that it should be approached with skepticism, sobriety, and reflection. It is with these two views in mind that I present the following thoughts on the social research on social minorities with specific reference to educational research on Pacific- and Asian-American women.

The objective of this paper is neither to explore an educational area of concern to Pacific- and Asian-American women in depth nor to state presumptuously the universe of educational research on Pacific- and Asian-American women. This paper attempts to examine the context and current status of social research about social minorities and to suggest research directions in education for Pacific- and Asian-American women. Such an examination is a prerequisite to identifying research issues and conducting research. Social minorities in this discussion will be limited to racial and ethnic minorities and women.

BACKGROUND: THE CONTEXT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

The 1960's may be characterized as a period of intense social activism, but the 1970's, for the most part, is an era of reflection. This change is borne out at the Federal level in social science research, where the primary focus today is on assessment and evaluation rather than on the social action research characteristic of the 1960's. This change of emphasis is partially due to the ever-increasing number of social programs supported by the Federal Government[1] and to the fact that a growing gap exists between the public's expectations of Government-supported social programs and what these programs can actually deliver.[2]

Despite the merits of this change of emphasis--i.e., to stop and examine what has already occurred--this shift may be viewed as resulting in negative consequences for social minorities, specifically Asian-American women, because it has occurred while they have barely become involved in the area of social research. Social minorities have protested that social research on their population groups must be directly relevant to them rather than to Federal abstraction or academic esoterica.[3] Simply stated, social minorities are interested more in research that addresses and resolves their immediate social needs than in longer range aspects of social research, such as assessment and evaluation.

Nevertheless, as the Federal budget and the general economy are subject to restraints, we can expect that research will continue to focus on evaluation of existing social programs rather than on their enlargement or on the creation of new programs and, subsequently, new areas of social research. This posture is in line with the history of research on minorities, which suggests that this area of research is marginal, if not tangential,[4] to the broader set of social research issues. Moreover, any direct social benefits to social minorities resulting from social research are side effects of the larger objective: to research minorities because of their relevance to particular social policies. Examples in the following discussion attempt to demonstrate that social research on social minorities arises in an environment where policy issues directly related to them are under consideration. In an environment where policy issues are not directly related to social minorities, research on them is minimal.

THE CURRENT STATE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH ON SOCIAL MINORITIES GENERALLY AND ASIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN AND EDUCATION SPECIFICALLY

A strong impetus for research on minorities came from the 1960's War on Poverty. Poverty, as a policy issue, has direct consequences for a substantial segment of minorities. Moreover, the frustrations and negative consequences of poverty (e.g., crime) affect not only poor people but also the larger society.

The era of the War on Poverty saw new studies as well as attempts to identify and compile the limited research of past decades. Annotated bibliographies surfaced,[5] and institutions of higher learning sponsored a variety of minority research activities ranging from individual experimental courses on women within established departments to comprehensive undergraduate degree programs in ethnic studies. Federal grants and contracts also encouraged research of social minorities.

Any and all issues that could be prefaced by a social minority adjective (*women's* poverty, *Asian-American* psychology) became ripe for research, while funds and personnel were made available by the universities and the Federal Government. Unfortunately, such a wide range of issues resulted in superficial coverage. Additionally, the production rate (i.e., publication demand) of minority research issues did not allow for much grounding in more established disciplines (e.g., the economic structure of a ghetto contrasted with the economic structure of other communities), let alone an interdisciplinary base (e.g., examining racism in terms of economic, historical, psychological, and sociological concepts).

As the War on Poverty receded from the national limelight, support for research on minorities expectedly declined.[6] However, this shift occurred as the number of individuals, particularly members of minority groups, delving into this area of research increased. Simultaneously, higher education and Federal support did not expand but, in some instances, decreased.

Often in the universities, ethnic and women's studies operated (and continue to operate) on discretionary funds or other allocations remaining after other university programs were funded. Faculty and staff were more often hired temporarily. On the Federal side, with the termination of the Office of Economic Opportunity programs, research on social minorities became a low priority and must now compete for Federal funds along with other research priorities.

This environment caused much of the research of the period to be incomplete and impressionistic. It lacks focus and integration outside its immediate application (e.g., documentation of the poverty needs of community X so they can be presented to social service agency Y for solution). The state of social research on social minorities is still unrefined, isolated, and descriptive, not much beyond a commonsensical level.

In the specific case of Asian-American women and education, the state of research is more underdeveloped; the propensity for abuse in this area is also greater. Reasons for underdevelopment include: (1) the fact that Asian-American women are a combination of two social minorities but are commonly perceived as subsets of either group; (2) the variety of Asian-American women; and (3) the Asian-American women's population, which is an insignificant portion of the total population. Reasons for abuse include: (1) the perpetuation of stereotypes about Asian-American women; (2) the assumption that research on Asian-American women is sufficiently covered under research on women and/or Asian-Americans; and (3) the potential for an Asian-American issue (e.g., English language proficiency) to become a policy issue.

Awareness of Asian-American women is more a development of the Asian-American experience than of the women's movement. In terms of education, Asian-American studies programs have been the main vehicle for coursework and research on Asian-American women. However, because of the limited number of course offerings and research about Asian-Americans, work specifically on Asian-American women has been slow and superficial. Furthermore, such research is not necessarily considered a high priority in male-dominated Asian-American studies.

On the other hand, research on women's issues rarely considers research issues with respect to racial and ethnic minorities,[7] let alone a specific and lesser known group. The result is that educational research on Asian-American women, which reasonably could be covered within Asian-American and women's research, becomes a secondary, if not neglected, priority in both arenas.

The variety among Asian-American women makes research on this population group more complicated. Not only are there diverse ethnic groups, but distinct age and immigration generations also exist. Issues of concern to these groups vary not only in degree but in kind. For example, Samoan women are concerned with learning English; Filipina professionals are concerned with being credentialed; Sansei women are concerned with drug education. The research choices of Asian-American women are further complicated because focusing on any given research issue excludes the rest; focusing on several issues results in some being well researched while others are poorly addressed; and tackling all leads to confusion and weak research.

The low number of Pacific- and Asian-American women in the population makes it difficult both to obtain funds for research and trained and capable personnel and to select samples to be studied (e.g., survey research problems arise in finding a nationally representative or even regionally representative sample because of the small universe).

Given the above difficulties, there is still room for abuse of existing research work and a future of limited research support. It is conceivable that the present research--or lack of it--perpetuates reactive stereotypes of Pacific- and Asian-American women (e.g., passive, submissive, patient). These stereotypes reinforce questionable research concepts about Pacific- and Asian-Americans such as the model minority syndrome. Moreover, these stereotypes stifle research on other, perhaps more accurate and comprehensive, profiles of Pacific- and Asian-American women (e.g., research on aggressiveness and leadership training among Pacific- and Asian-American women).

Another form of abuse consists of looking at research on Pacific- and Asian-American women either from an ethnic perspective or from a woman's perspective. Although these perspectives are necessary, neither is sufficient in itself. Yet, for a variety of reasons, including budgetary limitations and philosophical priorities, educational research on Pacific- and Asian-American women too often occurs with only one perspective.

While the advent of a policy issue directly related to social minorities will generate research on this group (e.g., policies on illegal aliens have precipitated research on this population group), thus temporarily alleviating lack of research, it also generates the probability of abuse. For example, much of the research on Filipinos in the 1920's and 1930's was undertaken to justify (and occasionally protest) their deportation and exclusion.[8] If and when issues of concern to Asian-American women (e.g., need for English language programs) require a policy decision that may have negative consequences for them (e.g., English language instruction is the responsibility of the individual rather than a service provided by the schools or Government), research may be designed to support one decision over another.

NEGATIVE FEATURES OF CURRENT SOCIAL RESEARCH ON SOCIAL MINORITIES

Thus far, we have examined the conditions encouraging and constricting social research on social minorities; we have also examined the current status of research on social minorities generally and on Pacific- and Asian-American women and education in some detail. Both positive and negative features arise from this examination. In attempting to define a direction for social research for Asian-American women and education, it is useful first to look at the negative features.

A prime flaw of current research is the almost infinite range of issues that may be researched, even with qualifiers such as "Asian-American" and "women." A lack of parameters and priorities in social research has certainly contributed to its superficial impressionistic quality. Second, the lack of, or minimal, relation to other disciplines makes present research on social minorities very ethnocentric and perpetuates its marginality. This ethnocentricity in turn may lead to a defensive and exclusionary approach resulting in a situation wherein Pacific- and Asian-American women's research issues are excluded from both Pacific- and Asian-American and women's research.

Needless to say, the low priority of research on minorities, coupled with a lack of resources, limits the quality and depth of research on particular issues. Lastly, the use of social research to justify specific policies not only raises questions about its quality but also may have harmful effects on the social minority being studied.

POSITIVE ASPECTS TO INCORPORATE IN SOCIAL RESEARCH ON ASIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

The above negative features can be complemented by constructive aspects that need to be included in research on minorities. Regardless of the support and resources available to social research on social minorities, it is useful to define a scope of work resulting in a systematic approach allowing for coordinated and sequential work. The result is a realistic agenda whose items are chronologically and logically related.

Second, a progression of research items can partially counter the almost predictively temporary and ad hoc nature of current research on social minorities. Rather than attempting to research all issues relevant to social minorities when there is an increase of resources or to pick one issue arbitrarily over another in the face of scarce resources, a progression ensures the relatedness and timeliness of research issues.

In place of ethnocentricity and defensiveness, constructive research considers many factors and is open to multicausality. Further, it seeks to be explanatory and objective, thereby decreasing the possibility of manipulation in policy decisions.

These pluses and minuses of research are neither absolutes nor necessarily practical. In fact, in applying them to an alternate research strategy for Asian-American women and education, we find an alternative with constraints.

AN ALTERNATE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

There are several constraints to researching Asian-American women and education, which have been implicitly and explicitly presented in the above discussion:

1. Emphasis on social research for evaluation rather than action.

2. Fewer funds and low priority for social research of social minorities.

3. Growing awareness of Asian-American and women's issues particularly in education.

Despite these constraints, it is possible to conceptualize a framework within which research can be done. Such a framework is characterized by a macroorientation toward geography, disciplines, and time. The value of this orientation is its division of activities that eliminates ad hoc and even duplicative work. Furthermore, it allows for setting priorities among activities.

In line with a macroorientation toward geography, it is appropriate to convene nationally sponsored research conferences. Beyond conferences, the national level is the best vantage point for identification, coordination, and compilation of research. It also allows for assessment and evaluation across regions, States, and local areas. Additionally, emerging trends and patterns can be observed from this viewpoint. Such an orientation encompasses and encourages, rather than excludes, research more appropriately done at the regional, State, and local levels. National research is incomplete and cannot be conducted unless some research is done at these smaller geographic units.

In terms of disciplines, the previous discussion has attempted to support specific research (i.e., Pacific- and Asian-American women and education) while arguing that such research must be encompassed within broader subject areas. More important, such research would not be in a vacuum but would be in a more relative and, it is hoped, more accurate perspective. A macroorientation toward disciplines has particular beneficial consequences for social action research and resolution of social needs for, although an implicit assumption for focusing on social minorities is their uniqueness, there is the fact that they also share common characteristics and needs with each other and the majority group. To the extent that such commonalities exist, resolution of social needs can be undertaken together. That is, a particular social minority may benefit from the social action research of another social minority or the majority.

A macroorientation toward time allows for conducting research with both long-range and short-range views. By its nature, research is time-consuming. Evaluative social research can take years. Research for social action on the surface is more immediate. The scope of social problems focusing on minorities requires that social action, i.e., more immediate research, be supported; but only through longer range social evaluation research can social action be transformed from reactive to anticipatory, predictive, and subsequently preventive action.

Macroorientation in terms of geography, discipline, and time can be an efficient means of conducting educational research for Pacific- and Asian-American women. Geographical considerations allow for studying ethnic and regional groupings (e.g., survival skills for Korean wives of U.S. servicemen) that can be related to similar issues elsewhere (e.g., survival skills for Indochinese housewives in suburban communities; survival skills for immigrant women in Chinatowns).

With an interdisciplinary approach, education issues relevant to Asian-American women can be related to education issues of concern to other women as well as to other education issues and to other subject areas (e.g., mastery of survival skills is related to other population groups, to eligibility for employment, and to acquiring more advanced education). By including time with geography and discipline, educational research issues on Asian-American women can be ordered in priority ranking (e.g., an examination of the status and need for survival skills leads to documenting and identifying ways to learn those skills, which in turn leads to evaluating those skills in a variety of survival environments).

CONCLUSION

The social research about social minorities has direct bearing on the educational research of Pacific- and Asian-American women. Despite negative outcomes of research on social minorities, there are positive features that can be incorporated into an alternative conceptual framework for researching Pacific- and Asian-American women and education. Such a framework, with a macroorientation toward geography, discipline, and time, allows for effective research regardless of constraints because it maximizes the use of scarce research resources while minimizing their isolation. Moreover, this orientation allows for looking at research issues in relation to each other.

NOTES

[1] Elmer B. Statts, "The Challenge of Evaluating Federal Social Programs," Evaluation I, 3 (1973): 50-54.

[2] Laurence E. J. Lynn and Susan Salasin, "Human Services: Should We, Can We Make Them Available to Everyone?" Evaluation, Special Issue (Spring 1974): 4-5.

[3] Refer to Journal of Social Issues: The White Researcher in Black Society 29, 1 (1973), particularly "Notes from a White Researcher in Black Society;" also, refer to Robert Blauner and David Wellman, "Toward the Decolonization of Social Research," *The Death of White Sociology*, Joyce Ladner, ed. (New York: Random House, 1973), pp. 310 ff.

[4] ". . . With little room for ethnic and racial phenomena in the macroscopic models of social structure and process, the field was isolated from general sociological theory and particularly from those leading conceptual themes that might have provided coherence and useful lines of inquiry: stratification, culture, community. The study of race relations developed in a kind of vacuum, no overall theoretical framework guided its research and development . . . . Without support from a general social theory, the study of race relations in sociology became organized around a variety of disparate approaches or foci of analysis. The leading approaches developed in ad hoc fashion. They were not well integrated with one another; of particular significance, none of them was able to articulate racial and ethnic phenomena to the structure and dynamics of the larger society satisfactorily. These approaches . . . shared the key assumption of general sociology that racial groups and racial conflicts were epiphenomenal and ephemeral. . . ." Robert Blauner, "Theoretical Perspective," *Racial Oppression in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 5-6.

Research on women has been less integrated with broader social issues and until recently was virtually nil.

[5] For example, *Bibliography on Racism*, 1972, and *Bibliography on Ethnicity and Ethnic Groups*, 1973, both published by the National Institute of Mental Health (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

[6] Refer to Samual Yette, "The Great Society Pacification Program," The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America (New York: G. P. Putnam's & Sons, 1971), pp. 35 ff.

[7] For example, A Survey of Research Concerns on Women's Issues by Arlene Kaplan Daniels and published by the Association of America's Colleges, 1975, relates to various issues from preschool socialization to old age and from volunteerism to politics. It considers almost all issues affecting women except race and ethnicity.

[8] Even studies such as *Facts About Filipino Immigration into California* (published by the Department of Industrial Relations, State of California in 1930), which states in its introduction that it is a data presentation rather than an argument for or against Filipino exclusion, emphasizes, at the start and the conclusion, the displacement of white labor by Filipinos aggravated by the lack of immigration restrictions on the latter.

III. Recommendations

CHAPTER III

RECOMMENDATIONS

> The educational and occupational problems of Asian-Pacific women cannot be separated from the problems of their communities. Thus, these recommendations reflect our commitment to the total Asian-Pacific community.
>
> The Participants

The conference participants formed two groups, roughly divided into researchers and community organizers, to discuss the papers presented by their members and draft a set of recommendations to the National Institute of Education (NIE). The following recommendations constitute the reports presented by each group at a final plenary session.

DISCUSSION GROUP I: Community Organizers

Preamble: Whereas Asian-Pacific-American women are composed of a diverse group of people, and whereas Asian-Pacific women traditionally have been victims of race, sex, and class discrimination, and whereas past researches on Asian- and Pacific-American women have been biased and irrelevant to the needs of the community, and whereas these past researches failed to include the participation of the community: Therefore, be it resolved that the following issues be given particular attention by the National Institute of Education in their formulation of social policy and research design on Asian-Pacific women.

- The priority in the selection of the area of investigation should be made on the basis of relevance to the community, particularly in terms of its applicability for creating changes. Although this should not exclude the need for basic research, the implementation of basic research should be carefully weighed in terms of available resources to the community.
- In addition to the academic qualifications, the criteria for selection of the researchers should give particular emphasis to: (1) the commitment to serve the needs of the community; and (2) familiarity and sensitivity to the issues in the community. In this sense, an attempt should be made to expand beyond the traditional locus of the university as the recruitment group for researchers and include competent community people as well.

- The approach of the research should be to seek the participation of the community in the development and the conduct of the research.

- An effort should be made to develop better alternatives to culturally biased research instruments such as projective tests and personality inventories. Such alternatives could include: development of culture-free or culturally relevant tests and greater reliance on other methodologies such as case studies, interviews, and participant observations.

Key issues of research need were presented as follows:

- Gather qualitative and quantitative data reflecting the diverse needs of the people of the specific ethnic and cultural and geographic groups.

- Identify discrepancies between census data that identify modal profiles compared with the actual conditions of Asian and Pacific women.

- Maximize resources to assist in the attainment of educational and occupational goals of Asian-Pacific women.

- Investigate problems of downward mobility caused by underemployment and unemployment.

- Determine whether we are included as minorities under all educational and occupational Federal programs, particularly where concentrations are small as in some geographic areas. Survey the eligibility standards of existing Federal programs to determine whether we are included as beneficiaries.

- Assess the effects of discrimination and identify alternatives for change.

- Provide a forum for discussion pertaining to the Asian-Pacific women as they relate to Asian-Pacific men, the communities, and women's issues in general.

- Develop tools for women to eliminate impediments to organizing and participating in social change.

- Investigate the lack of Asian-Pacific women in policymaking positions and in leadership positions within our own communities as well as the society at large.

- Develop means to eliminate stereotyping.

Policy issues recommendations were presented as follows:

- That a review panel composed of Asian-Pacific peoples be established.

- That Native Hawaiians be included in the Native American Conference sponsored by the National Institute of Education.

- That the unique problems be recognized and support be given to the decisions of these people:

    1. Pacific Islanders: Tongans, Samoans, Guamanians, etc.;
    2. Native Hawaiians;
    3. Foreign-born wives of servicemen;
    4. Foreign-born professionals, and garment workers and other working-class women;
    5. Persons involved in interracial marriages and adoptions;
    6. Indochinese refugees;
    7. Native-born Asian-Pacific women;
    8. Asian-Pacific elderly, middle-aged, young adults, and young children;
    9. Non-English speaking people; and
    10. Exploited Asian-Pacific women in all occupational levels.

In the educational sphere, the following issues were identified:

- Tracking systems and the need for counseling in the educational system.

- Attitudes and behavior of educators toward Asian and Pacific Island women.

- Stereotyping in educational materials.

- Identifying Asian and Pacific Island women in the educational system, including policymaking bodies, their roles, salaries, proportions, etc.

- Assessment of testing materials, including diagnostic and achievement measures.

- Comparative study of bilingual versus standard English education.

- Economic barriers to higher education.

- Development of educational materials, including training in political participation.

DISCUSSION GROUP II: Researchers

The six papers were not discussed separately. They served as a basis for the development of a composite set of issues to be addressed in the development of a research agenda with social policy implications for the educational and occupational concerns of Asian-Pacific-American women. These were listed in the order of their emergence in the first day's discussion and then were organized and elaborated as follows:

Framework for Analysis

- Alternative theoretical frameworks are needed that account for and integrate factors in the larger social context as they affect Asian-Pacific-Americans, e.g., political, economic, and other institutions of American society and international relations.

- Institutional areas to be given high priority include:

  1. Education (language difference, alternatives to traditional education, cooperative education, reentry following withdrawal from work and/or family, etc.);

  2. Employment (child care more harmonious with Asian-Pacific women's needs and culture, groups at risk for exploitation, etc.); and

  3. Service provision (ombudsman for new entrants to political, occupational, health, etc., systems and development of new services not provided in existing institutional structures, and the role of voluntary organizations, etc.).

- Values, attitudes, and emotional and cultural factors should be examined as they function in the coping capabilities of Asian-Pacific women, as conflicting values are managed and integrated, and as expectations are redefined in terms of the reality of resources and opportunity (e.g., through cross-generational studies).

Target Populations

Populations neglected in research and social policy and/or with special needs were identified by the following dimensions:

- Lower third socioeconomic level (women not in the labor market, Asian wives of U.S. servicemen, garment workers, unpaid family workers, etc.); "successful" women as role models;
- Pacific Islander (Native Hawaiians, Samoans, Guamanians, etc.), Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Burmese, Cambodians, Thais, etc.), and Asian Indian ethnic groups;
- Housewife phase, midcareer change period, and elderly in life-cycle stages;
- Immigrant generational cohort; and
- Less studied geographic areas.

Methodological Issues

Among the concerns expressed were the following:

- An inventory of social science mythology regarding Asian-Pacific-Americans should be an important component to the needed task of identifying gaps in knowledge and synthesizing what is known about the women of these populations.
- Positive factors implicit in cultural and personal characteristics of Asian-Pacific-Americans should be identified through research. The failure to recognize their value and applications may be the circumstances for deficit behavior and maladaptations, rather than these characteristics themselves being the cause of such behavior. The emphasis on deficit analysis, unfortunately, has been typical in studies of minorities.
- Baseline data needs are serious and urgent, including the lack of longitudinal data for time series analyses and more adequate development and access to data from such sources as the Bureau of the Census, Department of Labor Statistics, Housing and Urban Development, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, etc. on the Federal level as well as State and local sources.
- The great variability within and among Asian-Pacific-Americans provides opportunity for productive comparative analysis.
- Qualitative research, particularly in small, diverse, changing populations, has special value, and, given the funding patterns and professional emphasis on survey research and quantitatively

presented data, a position paper elaborating this rationale should be prepared.

- Personnel involved in the problem definition, design, and conduct of research concerning Asian-Pacific-Americans should be intimately culturally sensitive, which generally would favor persons of the same background as the study population.

- Ethical considerations in research require that the means and use of subjects of research be nonexploitative; in addition, a primary component in judging research should be its value to the people being investigated.

Action Strategies

Regarding the implementation of research, the following considerations in establishing priorities emerged from the discussion:

- Research issues should be articulated and funding sought for these rather than be limited to conforming to established funding priorities.

- The primary criterion for setting priorities should be the research's potential contribution to social change. Another is that such research is not being covered elsewhere.

- In the consideration of any piece of research, the following should constitute priority components:

    1. Subject populations--lower socioeconomic categories of Asian wives of U.S. servicemen, Pacific Island peoples, housewives, and elderly.

    2. The development and use of alternative theoretical frameworks and instruments more responsive to effective research regarding Asian-Pacific-Americans.

    3. A positive emphasis on cultural and personality factors in coping with conflict and in surviving within often difficult contexts.

    4. Identification of strategies for social change.

Some examples of research issues with social change effects were proposed:

- Stereotypes--the process of perpetuation (not content, per se), negative effects of positive stereotypes, function of stereotypes on the maintenance of the status quo, etc.

- Asian-Pacific-Americans' perceptions and definitions of the power structure and other aspects of their environment and their function in it.
- Discrimination--patterns in various occupational fields where Asian-Pacific women are concentrated, such as in nursing and the garment industry; discrepancy between expectations, opportunity, and achievement, etc.

Program recommendations were presented as follows:

- Asian-Pacific women should participate in policy formation and the funding processes of the National Institute of Education and other sources. A position paper should be prepared to develop the theme.
- Asian-Pacific-American personnel to participate in policy formation, funding processes, and to conduct research should be identified.
- The conference's findings should be circulated to appropriate audiences: members of Congress and other influentials, Asian-Pacific communities, and research personnel.
- A followup group should draft a statement to elicit support from Asian-Pacific groups and other potential allies in the implementation of a research agenda to address educational and occupational concerns of Asian-Pacific women.
- Two additional papers should be commissioned by the sponsor of the conference: one on the Asian wives of U.S. servicemen and the other on Pacific Island women.

FOR IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION

- A followup group to this conference should develop a position statement to convey to members of Congress, Asian-Pacific communities, political parties, State and local political leaders, etc., our concerns for support of a research agenda responsive to the needs of Asian-Pacific-American women.
- Additional papers should be commissioned by the sponsors of the conference: (1) Asian wives of U.S. servicemen, (2) Native Hawaiians, and (3) other Pacific Islanders.

IV. Group I: Community Organizers

CHAPTER IV

GROUP I: COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS

Chair: Paige Barber
Co-chair: Mary I. Watanabe

PRESENTERS

Fe C. Nievera: "Some Effects of Child Rearing Practices on the Value Systems of Asian-American Women"

Reiko Homma-True: "Mental Health Issues Among Asian-American Women"

Germaine Q. Wong: "Impediments to Asian-Pacific-American Women Organizing"

Fe V. Loo: "Asian Women in Professional Health Schools With Emphasis on Nursing"

Dorothy L. Cordova: "Educational Alternatives for Asian-Pacific Women"

DISCUSSION PARTICIPANTS

Moanikeala Akaka

Julia Chang Bloch

Rita Fujiki Elway

Antionette (Metcalf) MacIntyre

Le Nga

Lillian Kwok Sing

Agnes Suzuki

SUMMARY OF PAPERS

At the followup meeting of six conference participants in 1979, a summary and synthesis of the papers from Group 1 was not available from the chairperson. Thus, the review team directed NIE to summarize the papers presented for discussion by this group, along with each author's recommendations. These summaries were ultimately written by Rosalind Wu, an Asian woman on the NIE staff.

"Some Effects of Child Rearing Practices on the Value Systems of Asian-American Women" by Fe C. Nievera

This paper reviews the literature relating the childrearing practices of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino families to the value orientations of Asian-American women in cognitive, affective, and social domains. The author organized her paper around "traditional" and "contemporary" concerns of Asian-American women.

The most important traditional concern is that of the family. With regard to her relationship with men, the Asian-American woman's concerns are distinctly different from the white woman's and those of the liberation movement. Asian-American women emphasize fulfilling family duties, for they were raised to suppress self-interest and personal desires to preserve family harmony. Parental expectations and values are partially responsible for the behavioral patterns of Asian-American females. Their vocational interest profiles stress occupations that have greater economic survival value and deemphasize those that require social contact.

The contemporary concerns of Asian-American women involve strivings for individual authenticity in terms of freedom from inhibitions and development of self-image and cultural identity. The traditional closeness and interdependence in Asian families suppress personal expressions of emotions; Asian-American women learned to cope with their feelings privately. The sex-linked socialization practices of Asian families prescribed rigid dating behavior for boys and girls; a woman has learned to evaluate herself in terms of her husband's status and behavior. However, through the media, many Asian girls also become knowledgeable about American dating behavior and about the standards by which females are judged in the greater American society. Evidence shows that Asian-American females acculturate faster and more easily than males. Therefore, Asian-American girls often become dissatisfied with the dating behavior of Asian males and experience great conflict and anxiety over their own identity and behavior. The author gives numerous examples from the literature of Asian-American women who express frustration with white society, unhappiness with conflicts between generations, and resignation to a poorly defined cultural identity.

Finally, Nievera takes a look at Asian women as leaders. She finds that Asian-American women are more "adaptive" than the men and are important initiators in their society. She believes that with persistence and aggressiveness, and through working with Asian males and in groups, women can lead the way in improving the human condition in American society.

Author's Policy Recommendations

1. Asian-American women should take the leadership in shaping a new "Asian-American personality," using their "adaptive" skills in acculturation to combine the best of the "traditionalist" characteristics with the practical aspects of the contemporary values.
2. Women should ensure that the younger generation will no longer suffer the degradation of inferior status of women.
3. Funding priority should be given to efforts toward developing childrearing practices that will best develop the child into a fully functional person.
4. Crisis intervention strategies must be developed to help women in stressful conditions cope with adjustment problems.

Specific Data Needs

1. Comparative studies of the childrearing practices of American-born Asians should be undertaken.
2. The perception of adolescent Asian-Americans with regard to prescriptive guides toward better adjustment to the dominant society should be studied.
3. Comprehensive bibliographies on childrearing practices need to be collected.

"Mental Health Issues Among Asian-American Women" by Reiko Homma-True

The concept of mental health is broadly defined to include: positive attitude toward the self; sense of personal satisfaction; ability to cope with a variety of demands in life; and the ability to grow and develop. Although the applicability of such criteria to Asian-Americans has not yet been fully explored, there are indications that Asian-American women are experiencing stresses in a number of life situations and that those stresses serve as barriers to their optimal personal development.

More Asian-American women than men utilize outpatient services, but more men than women use inpatient services. However, among Americans in general, the utilization rate is higher for women than men in both outpatient and inpatient agencies. The author suggests that the common interpretation of the sex differences in utilization rate among Americans (e.g., women as compared with men experience more strain, are more aware of their problems, and have fewer escapes and outlets for their frustration) may be equally applicable to Asian-American women, with the added dimensions of stress stemming from their status as an ethnic minority and from their status in a community that places traditional constraints on women's roles.

Homma-True challenges the conclusion drawn from personality studies on Asian-American women that are based on tests standardized and developed for white women. She described six major sources of stress among Asian-American women and made research recommendations in each area.

Author's Research Recommendations

1. Life as immigrants--All immigrants suffer from their marginal economic status, cultural adjustment, and communication difficulties. However, it is unclear why more Asian women than men exhibit symptoms of stress. Among immigrants, the refugees and the elderly deserve special attention.

2. U.S.-born Asian women--The adjustment of different groups of the significant number of U.S.-born Asian women should be examined. In particular, the younger women's struggles for identity and the ways that they cope with conflicting cultural demands should be studied. For older women, the research should focus on the impact of the war years and life in concentration camps, as well as their experience of the empty nest syndrome as compared with other American women. Is their conflict greater? What are their coping resources? These questions must be explored.

3. Marriage and divorce--Traditionally, divorced Asian-Americans are treated with disgust and ostracism by their families. The possibility of changing family mores suggested by the trend of increasing family breakups among Asian-Americans reported in the census data should be studied. Specifically, the nature of marital interaction, the process of conflict resolution, the effect of family breakup on the members, and the subsequent adjustment of those family members should be compared for Asian-Americans and for American women in general.

4. Interracial marriage--Although interracial marriages are traditionally disapproved among Asian-Americans, their incidence is on the increase. Many studies have predicted negative outcomes for intermarriage. There should be further investigation into the impact of biculturalism and biracialism on the members of these families. Studies into the processes of identity adjustment, marital conflict development, and conflict resolution are also recommended.

5. Employment--Contrary to the traditional image of the Asian woman as devoted wife and mother, a large proportion of women are employed in low-paying jobs that are beneath what would be expected from their high educational attainment. The hypotheses to explain their low earning power (e.g., discrimination, Asian passivity, fear of success syndrome) need further exploration. Moreover, research should examine how Asian women feel about their working status, how employment affects their relationships with others, how they experience stress at work, and how their employment affects their children.

6. Sexuality--Homma-True reports an emerging interest in sexuality among young people in the Asian-American community and more open sexuality among some communities.

Recommendations for Research Strategies

The author emphasized the importance of questioning the generalizability of research findings and methodologies on white women to Asian-American women. She believes that priority should be given to community-relevant research, with input and participation from the community. These recommendations were strongly endorsed by the group and incorporated into the group report.

"Impediments to Asian-Pacific-American Women Organizing" by Germaine Q. Wong

Asian-Pacific-American women have not played a significant role in the women's liberation movement in the United States because few serious conscious efforts have been made by those active in feminist groups to include Third World women. Furthermore, Asian-Pacific-American women who have been socially and politically active gave higher priority to the elimination of racial discrimination. Some feared that the women's movement would detract from and/or dissipate the civil rights movement.

The vast majority of Asian-Pacific-American women, however, have not been active in any organizing efforts, and the author identifies three major impediments: male dominance, cultural factors, and economic structure.

The particular form of male dominance experienced by Asian-Pacific-American women in this country is in large part a result of American military experience in a series of wars in Asia and the Pacific. Most American men encountered Asian and Pacific women in subservient, obedient, hardworking, uncomplaining, and willing roles.

Using Chinese-American women as an example, the author touches on some of the cultural factors that have impeded Asian-Pacific-American women from organizing. Chinese women have traditionally been defined by the positions of their fathers/husbands rather than having an identity of their own. Thus, their personal enhancement could only be gained through the improved status of their fathers/husbands.

Beyond the day-to-day demands faced by most women, Chinese-American women must also adjust to two cultures oftentimes in conflict with each other, contend with the Western stereotype of the "Oriental" woman, and function in two dissimilar languages.

The colonization of Asian countries and Pacific Islands by Westerners has been a major contributing factor to the triple oppression confronting Asian-Pacific-American women. Economic exploitation in these situations, which can also be found in the Asian and Pacific enclaves of this country, have, according to the author, required that Asian-Pacific-American women continue in subordinate roles.

Author's Recommendations

1. Compilation of the demographic profile of Asian-Pacific-American women.
2. Historical analysis of Asian-Pacific-American women.
3. Survey of Asian-Pacific-American women's attitudes toward the women's liberation movement.
4. Applied research must take precedence over "pure" research.

"Asian Women in Professional Health Schools with Emphasis on Nursing" by Fe V. Loo

Sixty-five percent of immigrant medical personnel came from Asian countries, primarily the Philippines, Korea, and India. It is predicted that a greater proportion of future U.S. nurses will come from foreign countries. In a thorough review of the literature, the author found that the major problems encountered by exchange nurses and foreign nurse graduates in the United States are (1) language; (2) role adaptation; and (3) attitudinal differences due to cultural background.

Language difficulties and unfamiliarity with objective test situations account for the small percentage (18.5) of the foreign nurse graduates (FNG's) who pass the licensing examination on the first try, as compared with 83 percent for all nurses who take the exam. In previous years, when FNG's could obtain a license through endorsement of satisfactory credentials, FNG's from the Philippines, the Americas, the British Isles, and Korea made up almost 90 percent of all endorsements.

Language facility also affects the ability of nurses to communicate with their patients and colleagues and, indirectly, the recognition they receive from others, which further determines their self-perception and personal satisfaction. The Asian concept of the nursing role differs from the role expectations in the United States. For example, Americans emphasize technical efficiency and meticulous paperwork, while foreign nurses were taught to spend time on human contact and to develop a sincere bedside manner. These differences in professional expectations and responsibilities associated with the nursing role cause strain and frustration among foreign nurses.

A foreign nurse's cultural values may also be at odds with those of her institution. For instance, a Filipino nurse felt that American attitudes toward drugs, sex, and abortion were unacceptable to her, and she found it difficult to spend time with patients with those problems. Other nurses feel that old and sick people are not given sufficient respect. However, there are common frames of reference within which the

American nurse and the FNG can build a relationship grounded in mutual concern. Despite their cultural and educational diversity, all nurses share mutual goals, aspirations, needs, and concerns.

Author's Recommendations

1. NIE should collaborate with other Government agencies in funding and implementing the goals of the Commission on Graduates of Foreign Nursing Schools.
2. Educational resources and tutorial programs should be provided to help FNG's pass the licensing examination. These courses should include information concerning the health care delivery system in American culture, drug problems, legal issues, and American lifestyles, among others.
3. Cross-cultural research studies are needed to reinforce the international nature of the social impact of nurses.
4. NIE should collaborate with the American Nurses' Foundation's International Communications Network research project.
5. Studies should be conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of present educational programs for FNG's.
6. Opportunities should be provided for intercultural exchange of ideas among nurses.
7. Hospital administrations must give consideration to the nurse's need for support, encouragement, and self-renewal.
8. Nursing curriculums must include a cultural component.

"Educational Alternatives for Asian-Pacific Women" by Dorothy L. Cordova

This paper presents important demographics on Asian-Pacific women, with a special focus on the recent immigrant population. According to the author, one of the major problems facing Asian-Pacific women is the lack of recognition of their problems by Federal, State, and local agencies. Part of the failure to recognize and address the problems stem from the paucity of accurate information about their classification, their numbers, and their needs.

The demographic statistics generally cited demonstrate that immigration from Asian countries continues to rise, and since the number of female immigrants, many of childbearing age, are rising faster than the number of male immigrants, the Asian-Pacific-American population can be expected to increase in the coming years. However, the author emphasizes that we must not make simplistic generalizations concerning these new immigrants, for their demographic diversity is staggering. For instance, we learn that the majority of Filipino immigrants settling in the East are younger and highly educated, that Chinese women in the large population centers for Chinese are less well-educated than Chinese women elsewhere in the country, and that acceptance of Asian peoples differ in different parts of the country.

Despite their demographic diversity, Asian-Pacific women share some major obstacles. Many highly trained and well-educated females cannot find employment commensurate with their skills, often though not exclusively due to poor English communication skills and inability to secure licensing and certification. Numerous examples are given of immigrants employed in occupations far below those that their academic and technical preparation would predict.

Many undereducated Asian immigrants, forced to settle for menial jobs to support their families, find themselves ineligible for funding in special educational programs which stipulate that participants must be at or below poverty income level. Programs that are serving increasing numbers of Asian-Pacific women include community colleges, programs such as Opportunities Industrialization Centers, classes in English as a second language, and training programs for bilingual teachers. These programs are scattered, often difficult to enter, and receive low priority for continued funding.

Author's Recommendations

1. Provide training for Asian-Pacific bilingual and bicultural teachers.
2. Set up short courses to help professionals use skills that they have previously acquired.
3. Set up refresher courses for health professionals preparing for licensing examinations.
4. Educate and train Asian-Pacific bilingual social workers.
5. Provide adult basic education.
6. Recruit and train instructors for immigrant women.
7. Establish colloquial English classes for recent immigrants.
8. Provide moneys for trainees in vocational rehabilitation programs.

9. Develop information systems to match students with programs that provide viable vocational skills.

10. Utilize Asian-American and Pacific Island organizations.

SOME EFFECTS OF CHILDREARING PRACTICES ON THE VALUE SYSTEMS OF ASIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

Fe C. Nievera

INTRODUCTION

The function of society at any given time in history is to perpetuate itself. Self-perpetuation is accomplished by developing distinct patterns of behavior for its members to insure the care of the young. This process of socialization involves the learning of expected behavior, emotions, values, and attitudes. Some theorists emphasize the effects of cumulative learning in the study of socialization while some psychologists believe that development proceeds in stages (Gergen et al. 1974). Among the latter is Jean Piaget, whose concept of cognitive development regards the process of socialization as dependent on the learner's readiness to grasp that which is to be learned (Coleman and Hammen 1974).

If society provides the milieu for the rearing of the young, it follows that the developing infant necessarily becomes dependent on others for the satisfaction of its needs. The human infant's dependence changes gradually with age from a means of satisfying physiological needs to a means of satisfying psychosocial needs. The object of the child's dependence shifts from parents to others. An area where dependence on others is most significant is in the development of moral values or ethical judgments, which Kohlberg (1963) postulates evolve at specific stages of the child's maturation parallel to his cognitive and affective development.

There is very little controversy over the concept that childrearing practices are determinants of personality development. Where controversy exists is in extending the study of individuals in the clinical setting to a whole culture's childrearing (Guthrie and Jacobs 1966). Accounting for similarities in diverse situations, and dissimilarities in similar situations has created a great deal of theorizing and research (Beals and Hoijer 1961).

Theorizing that national character has a genetic basis, Kardiner (1945), whose orientation is toward psychoanalytic approach, proposed his "psychodynamic analysis." He believes that childrearing practices are the primary institutions which give rise to the child's projective systems. Throughout the child's life, these projective systems are the unconscious ways by which the child interprets the world about him. The projective systems in turn give rise to secondary institutions such as religion, customs, and folklore, which again react on the child.

Guthrie and Jacobs (1966) criticized Kardiner's relating childhood experiences with the behavior patterns of adults in society because it gives undue significance to the etiology of the neuroses in the context of Western experiences. They went further, stating that many aspects of behavior can best be explained by theories of learning rather than with the melodramatic concept of projective systems.

To Guthrie and Jacobs, society's notion of what a child's role is at a set stage of his development, the patterning of his family kinship system, and the sex of the child are the important factors in determining personality structure and are the basis of personality differences. Denying the instinctual orientation, they assert that it is environmental factors that are responsible for differences between cultures. Differences in society's demands and expectations will result in different personality processes.

THE PROBLEM

It is the thesis of this study that, following the interpersonal approach as enunciated by Sullivan and further refined by Guthrie and Jacobs in their study of childrearing practices in the Philippines (1966), we can identify some relationships between the value systems of Asian-American women and the practices under which they were reared. How the Asian-American woman acquired her unique value orientation in cognitive, affective, and social domains is related tangentially or directly to the particular culture in which she was born.

The Individual's Value Orientation

"In selecting goals and in choosing means for achieving them, in resolving conflicts, an individual is influenced at every turn by his conception of the preferable, the appropriate, the good, the desirable--by what he sees as having value. The kind of relationship he establishes with his spouse and children, the way he transacts business matters, the degree of respect he has for others (and for himself), his political and religious activity, and the patterning of his everyday behavior--all these represent choices from among alternatives according to his hierarchy of values" (Coleman and Hammen 1974, p. 487).

Values are not the only determinants of behavior. Rewarding or unpleasant consequences of assumptions and actions reshape behavior. A wide range of inner and outer determinants, the individual's immediate motivational pattern, his assumptions about reality and possibility, and various situational factors affect any of his acts. But it is still left to him to choose his specific behavior at any given moment--and this choice is determined in a large degree by his basic values (Coleman and Hammen 1974).

There is a world of a difference between what a person actually does (the operative level of his values) and his conceptions of what he ought to do (the conceived level of his values). To Coleman and Hammen, an individual can look up to four main influences to work out his own system of values--his culture, his science, his religion, and his own life experiences. However, there are others who aver that culture is the only source of influence; Kluckhohn (1945), for example, defined culture "as all the historically created designs for living, explicit and implicit, rational, irrational, and non-rational, which exist at any given time as potential guides for the behavior of men." Beals and Hoijer (1961) lend support to the anthropological interpretation of Kluckhohn's "historically created designs" by claiming that culture already includes technology, economics, social organization, religion, and symbolism or language.

We agree with Guthrie and Jacobs (1966) that an individual's personality development and values are to a large extent traceable to the childrearing practices of the culture in which the individual was nurtured. It is, therefore, our thesis that the value systems of Asian-American women have some kind of congruence with the childrearing practices of the culture in which each was nourished; that the context in which this nurturance took place was affected by her interpersonal relationships with significant others; and that this social learning continues throughout the life cycle, leading to probable modifications of the value systems earlier acquired.

METHODOLOGY

The term "Asian-American women" as used in this study refers only to women of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino lineage. When this study began, we intended to include women of Korean ancestry. However, a search for literature on comparative childrearing practices made it apparent that there is no available information on Koreans. Beyond demographic data (Ryu 1975), historical perspectives on the immigration of Koreans into the United States (Shin 1971), and the literature on the specific adjustment problems of Korean wives of servicemen in the military, we found no studies on the childrearing practices and personality structure of Koreans. It is conjectured that there may be information on these aspects of Korean culture, but it is not readily accessible. A recent study by Kim and Condon (1975) on Asian Americans in Chicago did include the Koreans as one of the main groups of Asian Americans in that city. However, their study dealt with socioeconomic characteristics, problem solving activities, and service needs of these minority groups.

We expected that there would be more data available on the Chinese and Japanese, since these two groups immigrated in sizable numbers to the United States as early as the late 1800's. We did indeed find data on the effects of childrearing practices on personality patterns. Some studies have been done on intra- and inter-generational childrearing practices (Kitano 1964), differential childrearing attitudes between generations (Kitano 1961), differential effects on personality of child training practices (Scoffield and Sun 1960), and changes in values and relational orientations as revealed in the area of childrearing (Kurokawa 1968). However, we found no material on retrospective studies on childrearing using sample groups of mothers, patterned after the extensive methodologies employed by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957), for second and succeeding generations of Asians in the United States. There have been studies made on childrearing among the Japanese in Japan, the Chinese in China, and the Filipinos in the Philippines. Any reliable bibliographic list on child development in these countries will yield a good collection for the interested researcher. Guthrie and Jacobs, as mentioned earlier, made an excellent study on specific dimensions of childrearing in the Philippines and made comparative analyses of such practices against the practices of the American mothers studied by Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957).

We came to know about a community project in Chicago where a church-sponsored group of 66 mothers of Japanese extraction came together and informally recollected their behavior in rearing their offspring. Unfortunately, the organizers of the project, Cheryl McPherson and her coworkers, did not make provisions for collecting the comments generated in the seminar and did not allow for the evaluation of the significance of their findings. Imperfect as this attempt was, it is indicative of the great interest this subject elicits among lay people. We were also told that a study on intergenerational childrearing practices among the Chinese in the Chicago Chinatown had been undertaken by a woman named Carol Cronin. No information other than the name of the alleged researcher could be secured. With this very meager lead, we made an unsuccessful attempt to locate the student from the various universities in the Chicago metropolitan area.

Literature on Value Systems of Asian-American Women

Few studies specifically dealing with the psychodynamics of Asian-American women have been done: Fujitomi and Wong 1973; Weiss 1970; Fong and Peskin 1969; Arkoff 1959; Fenz and Arkoff 1962; and Huang 1956. Scholarly studies, essays, and other forms of literature have discussed Asian-American women in conjunction with men (Matsumoto, Meredith, and Masuda 1970; Meredith 1973; Fong and Peskin 1969), or within the larger context of familial experiences (Morishima 1973; Morales 1974) and generational characteristics of the ethnic group (Sue and Sue 1971; Kitano 1973a, 1966, 1962).

The latest collection of material on women of Asian heritage is in the journal Asian Women. For reasons which the editors did not explain, articles on Filipino women are noticeably missing from this publication. The editors appraised the journal as representing an assortment of well-documented research papers, intensely personal essays, and a hodgepodge of articles, photos, poems, graphics, and sundry papers. But the journal did serve as a vehicle for Asian-American women to speak their minds. The difficulties of developing an identity and still maintaining some degree

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of self-determination is exemplified by Jade Snow Wong's excellent autobiography, Fifth Chinese Daughter (1950). Another sophisticated study on the inferior status accorded Asian-American women, from their place in the traditional family system to the contemporary scene, is that of Fujitomi and Wong's "New Asian American Woman" (1973).

Basis for Groupings

The Japanese have a convenient way of describing generations--the immigrant generation is called Issei, the second generation or those born of Issei parents are Nisei, sometimes Nikkei, and the generation born of Nisei are called Sansei. However, the other two groups in our study--the Chinese-Americans and the Filipino-Americans--do not have such clear-cut terminologies for defining the different generations. Among the latter two groups, distinction is more on the basis of being foreign-born or American-born. Recently, because of the relaxation of immigration restrictions since 1965, there has been an influx of groups from China, the Philippines, Korea, and other East Asian countries. These new arrivals have been simply labeled as "new immigrants."

For purposes of our study, we have adopted the following system for grouping our data:

A. The foreign-born--includes the earlier Issei women and the picture brides; the few Chinese women who were able to join their men in the period before the exclusion laws; and the meager number of Filipino women who were able to come with their husbands in the early 1930's.

B. The American-born--includes the Nisei, the American-born Chinese and Filipinos, and their children's children.

C. The new immigrants--comprises the bulk of the groups who came in the mid-sixties when the United States' revised immigration laws permitted large numbers of Asians to come in. However, among the Filipinos, some groups arrived earlier, just after World War II and as late as the early 1950's. We have also included in this group the wives of military servicemen, who of late have been subjected to much attention because their grave adjustment problems are surfacing.

Schema For Study--A conceptual framework which may provide a rational perspective for our study of the Asian-American women is that adopted by Okamura (1975). Okamura labeled as "traditional" concerns those that relate to women's preoccupation with responsibility to family, spouse, and children. She classified as "contemporary" those concerns that relate to the Asian-American women's strivings for individual authenticity.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

Traditional Concerns of Asian-American Women

Relationship With Their Men--Paramount among the concerns of Asian-American females is their relationship with their men. Some illustrations of this aspect of their strivings are given here. In a meeting of the Illinois Women's Council, a Nisei woman who is educationally emancipated, remarked that the concerns of other minority women in the council (mostly Jewish) were for such matters as equal employment opportunities, career choices, equal representation in community organizations, political involvement, or religion. However, to Nisei women, she said these areas are simply not of paramount interest. A typical problem that bothers them is:

> To feel comfortable that I can stay the length of the conference without having to feel worried and guilty that my husband's and children's meal is not prepared . . . will probably be viewed by the other minority women as most trivial compared to the larger issues in the movement for sex equality.

Fujitomi and Wong (1973) further expand on this struggle in the "New Asian American Woman":

> The Asian woman's struggle is a third-world struggle and is, therefore, distinctly different from the White woman's liberation movement. The Asian woman is a minority individual, and within her own family, she is delegated at a lower status than the male; for these reasons, she is doubly oppressed. As the larger society continues to repress the Asian males, the Asian males find it necessary to oppress their own females. In order to redeem dignity in his maleness, the Asian man exerts his masculinity by keeping his woman in her place (p. 252).

Recounting her hardships and her resignation to the insensitivity of her husband, an Issei woman reminisced:

> My husband was a Meiji man. He did not think of helping in the house or with the children. No matter how busy I may have been, he never changed the baby's diapers. Though it may not be right to say this ourselves, we Issei pioneer women from Japan worked solely for our husbands. At mealtime, whenever there was not enough food, we served a lot to our husbands and took very little for ourselves (Gee 1971, p. 15).

Fujitomi and Wong (1973, p. 258) relate how the Issei women protected their men from being humiliated by the anti-war demonstrations of white Americans:

> The persistence of Issei women in the face of obstacles helped to carry the family through the pre-war and war eras. When

> anti-Japanese feelings were intense and the humiliating cries of "damn Jap" were hurled at the Japanese males, the females made sure their husbands found comfort and reassurance of their male identity as the powerful and honorable "papasans." With deep understanding and quiet fortitude, the Issei women suffered and survived.

Morishima (1973) gives further proof of the stamina and courage of the Issei and Nisei women with his review of their experiences at the evacuation camps. But he discounts what some have assumed to be totally pervasive effects of the loss of prestige on the part of the Japanese adult male. On the other hand, Morishima avers that the forced communal style of life resulted in gains for Japanese women in the formerly male-oriented Japanese family, since now they were providing substantial economic contributions to their families by their involvement in business and occupations.

Reared at a different time, when male and female marriage partners are more open toward each other, couples of the younger Asian-American generation resolve their difficulties much differently. Said such a wife:

> He agreed that it was unfair for me to be spending my time this way. We wanted our relationship to be such that both of us had equal opportunity to develop ourselves. Only it didn't work out as easily as we thought. Because he was not taking enough initiative in finding out what things needed to be done. So we ended up yelling at each other again. The result was another talk to reaffirm our understanding (Tam 1971, p. 98).

Family and Children--Family unity is of supreme significance in the traditional Asian family; the concept is ingrained in childhood and zealously enforced by parents, and it takes precedence over the interest of the individual. Chun-Hoon (1973), writing on the Chinese-American identity as illumined by the autobiography of Jade Snow Wong, tells of the primacy of order and respect for elders in the Chinese culture when he points out that Jade Snow throughout the book never once referred to herself as "I" but rather as "small daughter Jade Snow." He also says that some women consciously limit their success in order to accede to the traditional commitment to family obligations. Jade Snow, for example, deliberately prevented her pottery business from expanding in order to devote time to her children and her husband.

Independent behavior which will upset the orderly functioning of the family is discouraged (Chun-Hoon 1973). For example, when parents discipline a child, they often appeal to family harmony reminding the child of the inconvenience he has caused his parents or older siblings. Female family members are expected even more to submit to the needs of the family. When Jade Snow audaciously disobeyed her father's wishes that she not date a boy, her father said to her:

> What would happen to the order of this household if each of four children started to behave like individuals? Would we have one peaceful moment if your personal desires came before your duty? How could we maintain our self-respect if we, your parents, did not know where you were at night and with whom you were keeping company? (Jade Snow Wong 1950, p. 128)

Morales (1974) tells of discord between the young and the old among the Filipino-Americans:

> The young people don't listen to their elders and have lost respect for their culture. They are easily influenced by their friends and there is too much freedom in this country. They want to be like wayward kids who have no respect for their parents (p. 109).

Conflicting values are exhibited in the character of a mother of the older generation, vividly portrayed by Lai Jen (1971, p. 25):

> So, I try to explain to her, not only my opposition to feudal ideas about women but also my growing rebellion against my adopted American values. Sometimes, I think she understands and sympathizes, but when it comes to practice, paradoxically she who has been oppressed so long by feudal values and American exploitation as an Asian woman, perpetuates these systems by teaching us to accept them. She seems both *oppressed* and *oppressor*.

Some further glimpses on the frustrations of Asian-American women at being female can be felt from the following plaints:

> The daughter of a first generation mother in white America, I was frustrated into tears when prohibited from the dates, dances and parties of my seemingly "freer" classmates . . . .
>
> I remember the jealous anger when my brothers would be allowed to do things denied me because "I was a girl."

Fong and Peskin (1973) tell of the double onus placed on first-born daughters by parents' expectations of classical femininity.

Even in the vocational interest profiles of Asian-American females, the pervasive influence of immigrant parents' expectations are evident. D. W. Sue (1973) found that females indicated an inclination to business occupations, applied technical fields, and biological and physical sciences, but less interest in verbal-linguistic fields, social service, and aesthetic-cultural occupations. Sue asserts that parents encourage their offspring to undertake occupations with potentially greater social and economic survival value. Sue also conjectures that in their desire to protect their children from the disappointments and frustrations of the racism they anticipate in the larger society, parents have discouraged their children from going into people-contact professions like sales and social sciences, which can be fraught with the hazards of discrimination.

Contemporary Concerns: Strivings for Individual Authenticity

Freedom from Inhibitions--The proverbial inscrutability of Asian Americans is the result of years of conditioning in subservience of the self to family and elders. Chinese-American actor James Hong believed that this "uneasiness of admitting and expressing natural human feelings has been a factor in the negligible number of Asian Americans (females and males) in the theater, drama and literary arts" (Uyematsu 1971). Yet in other media of art expression such as painting and sculpture, Asian artists excel and gain recognition. Could this be due to the fact that in these media the individual artist need not have the contact with people which is demanded more in drama and theater arts?

This subservience of the self is again traceable to the traditional family system. Asians live in a complex and delicate state of interdependence which tends to inhibit personal expressions of emotions. Kurokawa (1968) in a study of the childrearing behaviors of Japanese families, relates that sleeping behavior whereby all members of the family sleep in the same room prohibits any considerable range of affective spontaneity which, it is feared, will impinge on the status and interest of other members and thus disturb the system as a whole. This suppression of affective spontaneity is akin to the Filipino personality's sensitivity and inferiority feelings, known as "hiya" in that country. Failing an examination; a marriage proposal that has been turned down; lack of money to properly clothe his children; being scolded by elders in front of other family members--these are very painful experiences for Filipinos, who were taught as children to cope with angry feelings without striking out at others, or to tease and be teased without losing self-control, and who grew up always in the presence of others whom they were expected to please (Guthrie and Jacobs 1966).

Kim and Condon (1975) found that Asian Americans in Chicago tended to perceive problems when they were presented to them on a hypothetical level. However, when the discussion was directed to the personal and experiential realm, they tended to deny the existence of problems.

Socialization of Sex Roles--Dating attitudes are products of the socialization process and have their roots in cultural institutions and ideologies. Weiss (1970) tried to show that sex-linked socialization practices of Asian families have contributed to the dissatisfaction of Chinese-American girls with the dating behavior of Chinese-American males. While Weiss cautions that this dissatisfaction may be reinforced by the stereotyped assumptions of both the white American and the Asian societies, he also avers that the ineffective dating behaviors of Chinese-American males can be traced to the conflicts caused by the severe and rigid conditioning of Chinese boys to follow their ancestors' footsteps. This finding is again revealed in the Rorschach responses of Chinese-American boys, which point to a dilemma in the sexual sphere and the inability to work out sexual difficulties. Differential treatment of the sexes--as when parents discourage their daughters from seeking higher education--has resulted in girls having more leisure time. They then have more opportunities for socializing with Caucasian males and more free time to spend in "tuning in" on the latest norms and styles of dating behavior within the context of the greater American society.

Image and Identity--Confucianism is blamed by Faust (1970) as being greatly responsible for fostering the inferior role of women. Discouraged from forming any sense of self-esteem and individuality, the Asian female is made to feel that her worth is measured only by the "good" husband she catches and by being the epitome of Asian femininity--reserved, quiet, shy, humble. This stereotyped image of the Asian-American female makes it easier for her to be accepted into the Caucasian society (Weiss 1970), but does not seem to fit her conception of what the Caucasian male desires in his woman. The media contribute to perpetuating the desirability of a female model with blond hair, long legs, white skin, and round eyes thus giving the Asian-American woman reason to feel dissatisfied with her own body image. Arkoff and Weaver (1968) also contend that internalized feelings of hostility about being a cultural minority can be the cause of displeasure with one's own physical attributes. Jan Masaoka (1971) has this to say in her musings:

> I sometimes think about my position as an Asian Woman in a society geared to the needs of whites and men, and it's pretty weird . . . . I guess that one of the most difficult things for me to understand is how to relate to my boyfriend who is white. Sometimes I flash back on all the ideas my parents taught me such as the idea that to marry a white man was to sort of degrade myself, and it's really hard to know how to deal with these kinds of feelings . . . . I once read this poem by an Asian Woman where she said that after looking into blue eyes for so long she forgot hers were black . . . .(p. 57)

Identity and Ethnicity--To achieve a clear-cut sense of one's identity and to be one's "real self" is the goal to which every person aspires. Carl Rogers said:

> Below the level of the problem situation about which the individual is complaining--behind the trouble with studies, or wife, or employer, or with his own uncontrollable or bizarre behavior, or with his frightening feelings lies one central search. It seems to me that at bottom each person is asking: "Who am I, really? How can I get in touch with this real self, underlying all my surface behavior? How can I become myself?" (1958, pp. 9-10)

The degree of an individual's sense of identity is important in understanding his behavior. Riesman and others (1953) believe that to a certain extent we are all "victims of the expectations and traditions of our parents' values and those of society. The person with a positive self-concept is less a victim because he tends to rely more on his own inner feelings of what is right or wrong, rather than depending entirely on codes established by others." Sue and Sue (1971) gave the label "Traditionalist" to the individual whose self is made subservient to the codes of others. Such a person exhibits primary allegiance to the family into which he was born. To feel self-worth, he feels he must give unquestioning obedience and must be able to achieve despite adverse conditions such as being a member of a minority culture. The second type of personality in Sue and Sue's conceptual scheme of self is the assimilable "Marginal Man." Denial of his minority culture and acceptance into the dominant society are the ways the Marginal Man finds self-worth. For this personality, such denial generates intense feelings of guilt and self-hatred. Standing on mid-ground is the "Asian-American" personality. This type of person integrates his past experiences with his present conditions. He associates with his ethnic relations without embarassment, unlike the Marginal Man, and accepts the fact that he has some guilt feelings for his unwillingness to fully follow his parents' wishes, unlike the Traditionalist. However, his defiance is less a rejection of ethnic ways than an attempt to preserve certain ethnic values in forming a new identity. To the Asian-American person, society, more than anything, is to be blamed for the problems that beset him, and thus society must be changed. Such change should emphasize group esteem and pride because only through collective action will society's perception of the Asian-American person be altered. The orientation of this type of person also includes other Asian groups as a basis for the stability of his identity.

Ethnic identity may refer to the degree of "Asian-ness," "Japanese-ness," "Chinese-ness," or "Filipino-ness" as measured by self-perceptions, identification, and participation in ethnic activities (Kitano 1969). The process of acculturation, on the other hand, refers to the ultimate assimilation of the ethnic individual into American society or into any dominant culture. This process is not without conflicts. Oftentimes, such conflicts are characterized by feelings of anomie, frustration-aggression syndrome, alienation, and lack of control. Such conflicts are usually defined in terms of discrepancies between expectation and reality.

There is much evidence that Asian-American females acculturate faster or more easily than males: Arkoff and Weaver 1968; and Kitano 1962. In a study of Sansei females in Hawaii, Meredith (1973) found that they exhibit a heightened anxiety level because of the demands and expectations placed on them by parental stress on academic achievement, dependence-independence conflicts within the family, familial and peer pressures surrounding dating and the sociology of jealousy, and the degree of social control exerted by the "youth culture."

Excerpts from Joanne Miyamoto's poem, "What Are You?" illustrate this anxiety of the younger generation of Asian-American women:

when I was young
kids used to ask me
what are you?
I'd tell them what my mom told me
I'm an American
chin chin Chinaman
you're a Jap!

flashing hot inside
I'd go home
my mom would say
don't worry
he who walks alone
walks faster . . .

. . . finally we made it
most of our parents
fiercely dedicated to give us
a good education
to give us everything they never had
we made it
now they use us as an example
to the blacks and browns
how we overcame

but there was always
someone asking me
what are you?

Now I answer
I'm an Asian
and they say
why do you want to separate yourselves
now I say
I'm Japanese
don't you know this is the greatest country
    in the world
now I say in america
I'm part of the third world people
and they say

    if you don't like it here
    why don't you go back

(In Iwasaki, 1971, p. 98-99)

On a somewhat different plane, and probably because she has already achieved a matured self-concept (Lugo and Hershey 1974), or because she is endowed with the sensitivity traditionally attributed to artists, Mitsu Yashima, an Issei who has acquired her own brand of "identity," in an interview (Fong, Kawasaki, and Quan 1971), was asked the question, "What does Asian identity mean in America?" Yashima replied:

> Difficult to answer. Feel like this. Make a painting of apple . . . when make painting of apple, you should not think because you're Asian, you should use Asian painting to make apple, that is going too far. You have to live, that's the first thing.
>
> You have to feel today's, this moment's feeling. Study Asian art. Gradually it'll come down to your own feeling. If it doesn't, then it's all right if you're living this moment, if the painting came out with that feeling, then it's all right (p. 42).

On a more personal level, parental feelings about cultural identification permeate conflicts between generations (Maruyama 1971):

> My mother told me years ago when I turned my back on things Japanese, that one day, I would regret not learning more about Japanese culture. She was right (p. 113).
>
> My parents urged me, unconsciously I am certain, to perpetuate the stereotype of the quiet, polite, unassuming Asian (p. 112).

With extreme sensitivity and candor, Violet Rabaya (1971) expresses her frustrations with white society and her consternation at finding alienation among her own people. She gives an excellent account of why Filipino-Americans are grappling with an identity problem of a more serious nature than that probably experienced by either the Chinese or Japanese, who have a more homologous historical and cultural background:

> I have found that the Filipino oriental has three basic differences when comparing him with other "typical oriental," that is, the Japanese and Chinese. First of all, as the term oriental has been interpreted by most to mean peoples of yellow skin, the Filipino is not yellow, but brown. Secondly, the heritage of the Filipino has definite and pronounced Spanish colonial influences, which have nearly obliterated most Asian customs associated with orientals. And thirdly, the sense of unity among Filipinos, where it is most needed, precisely within the people themselves, is not strong (p. 110).

Kitano (1973b) hypothesized: (1) that groups can be differentiated in terms of the degree of identification with a subculture; (2) that groups more identified with their subcultures will show more normal personality patterns; and (3) that those groups more identified with their subcultures and exhibiting more normal personality patterns will practice discrimination at a higher level than the less identified and less integrated. Could these hypotheses provide the rationale for the behavior of Filipinos that Rabaya continues to speak of in her essay, "I'm Curious (Yellow?)," again excerpted below:

> Filipinos, also, like most other orientals, have basic racist tendencies. This phenomena is admittedly not uncommon among other races, but there exists a looming discrepancy in the racial attitude of the Filipino. Unlike most other groups of people where racism stems from the belief in one's superiority, or at least, in one's equality, the Filipino has accepted, though reluctantly, his place on the "white social ladder." Caucasians are number one, orientals are number two, Mexicans number three, then Negroes (p. 110).

Rabaya ends her self-examination with typical Filipino reaction-resignation:

> To be an outcast in a white society and an outcast among orientals leaves the Filipino in that never-never land of social obscurity . . . (p. 111).

Essentially the same agonized sentiments for a resolution of this problem of the Filipino being in "limbo" has been expressed by Carmely Estrella, a student, Morales (1974) relates in his examination of contemporary issues affecting this growing minority:

> Filipinos still regard themselves as second rate citizens . . . Members of her family carry over the ideas brought from the Philippines and relate them to Filipinos here . . . it is often thought that the lighter the skin color the better the person . . . . Members of her family would tell her not to stay in the sun. We have become Americanized in that we believe that brown skin is inferior to white. However, the youth today are questioning this thinking and are rejecting it . . . . We don't really know if we are Asian. It is time to find out who and what we are (p. 115).

In Solidarity: Asian Women As Leaders

The question of what qualities make a good leader has never been satisfactorily resolved by either management scientists or social psychologists. A somewhat more fruitful approach to the study of leadership has been to scrutinize the needs and characteristics of groups and their effect upon the emergence of leaders. Fiedler (1967) theorized that the leadership style required for the effective performance of interacting groups is contingent upon the favorableness of the group situation.

Obviously, acceptance of the traditional concept of the inferiority of women in the Asian-American community cannot in any way be interpreted as providing the favorable atmosphere necessary for encouraging the emergence of effective leaders. Asian females, despite undeniable pressures and social change, still retain a core of qualities that are essentially

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female (Arkoff 1964) because of the strong influences of maternal attitudes towards differential treatment of the sexes (Kitano 1963). In the late fifties, Huang (1956) reported that even though most students attempt to fashion their weddings after the American pattern, Chinese cultural elements, values, and attitudes often emerge with or without forethought. Further studies confirm this retention of femininity values (Weiss 1970), but, at the same time, females have adopted what Meredith (1973) calls "adaptive" strategy toward acculturation as opposed to the male strategy of "exploitative" adaptation. The dating and courtship innovations of Chinese students in the Midwest in the late fifties (Huang 1956) showed, even at that time, the faster rate of acculturation of females toward more egalitarian sex attitudes. Girls were more creative in devising ways in which they could enjoy prolonged periods of courtship similar to the Westernized practices, such as in group dating and interdating, which permitted them to date even married men.

Burma (1953) advised that to be effective in their quest for leadership positions, Asian women must strive to be more aggressive though this runs counter to their upbringing, strive to be more visible and public even if such behavior is contrary to traditional values of modesty and moderation. Above all, it is necessary for Asian-American women to learn to be skillful in working with groups since this is the only way they can eradicate traditional ways of their people. Of utmost necessity is working together with Asian males in reassessing each other's role hang-ups for effective partnership in improving the human condition in society (Fujitomi and Wong 1973).

Takemoto (1971) interviewed Pat Sumi, a woman labeled as a revolutionist, and quoted her as saying:

> Being an Asian woman . . . you never get listened to unless you keep on saying it, keep on doing it or you'll never get anything done. I think that the most invisible people of all America are Asian women in terms of being taken seriously as human beings (p. 109).

Tanaka (1971), in a poem entitled "from a lotus blossom cunt," is loud in yearning for equality with Asian men:

> . . . I'm still with you, brothers
> Always
> But I'm so damn tired
> of being body first, head last
> wanting to love you when all
> you want is a solution to glandular discomfort
> that I thought I'd better say my say
> Think about it, brothers
> We are women, we are Asian

We are freeing ourselves
Join us
Try to use us,
and you'll lose us
Join us. (p. 109)

Congresswoman Patsy Mink (Quan 1971), who is a consistent supporter of bills on women's rights, equal pay, and child care, has this to say on the liberation of the Asian-American woman:

> I support the goals of the women's liberation movement. I see it as a movement to get women to understand and appreciate the condition of their sex--politically and economically. The major thrust is not against men, but to try and see ourselves as full human beings. It must reeducate women to change their attitudes, to assume respect for themselves (p. 104).

Espousing a divergent political belief, Mrs. Mink's interviewer, Jeanne Quan (1971), clarifies in her notes her own position regarding what to her is the Congresswoman's apotheosizing attitude toward the American system:

> In the last analysis, however, Patsy Mink is 200% American. She has a deep faith in the American system and in this sense is not atypical of most of our parents. She sees racism and injustice, her response is to work harder in her attempts to make the American system work. This was the essence of our differences (p. 106).

Quan is critical of the American system and doubts that it was ever set up for people other than the whites:

> I think that I am not atypical of this Asian generation in that I have looked at the "American way," especially its systematic treatment of Third World peoples, and I question if the system was ever intended to work for Asians, nonwhite, or even the majority of working class Americans.
>
> This disagreement between the perspectives of Patsy Mink and myself, are only indicative of a larger contradiction within the Asian-American community. We must resolve it as we move from a racial and national identity to a political identity (p. 106).

Bred by the times under which they grew up into womanhood, but still very much under the influence of their parents' traditions and child training practices, some militant women recognize or at least hope that family and kinship roles can be combined with militancy. Cynthia Maglaya (Navarro 1974) is one of those who believe that the vital role of women is in being instrumental in carving a new society:

> I do not mean to undermine the responsibilities of women in the home or towards their children but stress the fact that these

tasks must always be seen as an integral part of their being indispensable in initiating changes in the society (p. 96).

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have categorized the value systems of Asian-American women as being generally of (1) traditional nature and of (2) contemporary issues.

We have attempted to trace a cause-and-effect relationship between some behavior patterns of adult Asian-American women and specific child-rearing practices. We have provided excerpts from poems, essays, interviews, autobiographies, and other materials for and about Asian-American women, written by Asian-American women, to illustrate more graphically the processes which have motivated these individuals as they go through the various phases of the life cycle.

As we have focused on the dynamics of the personality development of Asian-American women and the determinants which have given shape and form to their values and belief systems, we have tried to give further support to the contention of Guthrie and Jacobs (1966) that the study of personality development within a culture and across cultures is best done within the context of interpersonal relationships with significant others than by employing approaches that are psychoanalytically oriented.

Recommendations

Proceeding from the assumption that we have gained a better understanding of the functioning of the Asian-American woman, we come to the issue of deciding what to do with this knowledge.

1. It has been said that the tradition of ancestor worship among the Chinese obliterates the necessity for an incessant search for the self. Secure in the mystical view that he has unshakable roots in history, the traditional Chinese is not bothered by questions such as, "Who am I?" "Why am I here?" or "What is the purpose of my existence?" (Chun-Hoon 1973, p. 134). Unfortunately, times change and the forces of a more dominant culture predominate over traditional coping mechanisms such as ancestor worship, which, even if considered desirable for buttressing the individual against life's exigencies, is no longer possible. And so, therefore, we come to a critical point of deciding how we are going to reconcile the traditional expectations with contemporary values.

   Sue and Sue, as earlier mentioned in this paper, proposed a possible mode of adjustment which would integrate aspects of both cultures (that of the dominant culture with the ethnic values) that the individual believes are functional to his own self-esteem and identity. Considering that it is the traditional strength of women which has cemented interpersonal and emotional relationships in society, we propose that Asian-American women take the leadership in insuring that future generations develop into what Sue and Sue describe as the "Asian-American" personality. Asian-American women, by their "adaptive" skills in acculturation, should be better equipped to assume the task of distilling from the "Traditionalist" personality those characteristics that are worth preserving and combining them with what seems practical and desirable from the personality of the people of the dominant American culture. We believe this role must be self-imposed and should be actively pursued by Asian-American women if they are to share the responsibility of shaping the identities of future generations of Asian Americans.

2. One specific area of childrearing that the author would personally recommend that women police is the differential treatment of the sexes. In this aspect, childrearing by Filipinos seems much more advanced in outlook, as it does not oppressively practice sex differentiation. However, the difference between Filipinos and the other Asians is really just a matter of degree. What really matters is that women must always be on guard to insure that younger generations will no longer suffer the degradation of inferior status for women.

3. Funds are always needed by individuals, by groups, even by the Government. However, we believe that priority should be given to programs and research efforts directed towards developing models of child care that will best reflect our conception of what a fully functioning person should be. Women cannot be truly liberated unless society sees that substitute child care facilities, designed to foster the "Asian-American" personality, are sufficiently provided. Problems such as unemployment, rising crime and delinquency, increasing rates of mental illness, and apathy among the community members will not substantially abate unless priority attention is given to childrearing practices.

4. Another area calling for immediate attention is in developing crisis-intervention strategies for helping women who cannot afford to wait for results of long-term research for solutions to their problems of adjustment to the dominant society. We are referring here to women whose coping behaviors for stressful conditions in their lives are rendered ineffective by their cultural background; i.e., wives of servicemen, divorcees and the aged, women with severe problems as parents compounded by language inefficiency. For these types of women, some form of "assertive" training

which takes into consideration their particular culture "blocks" must be developed and provided.

Implications for Further Research

Studies are indicated in the following directions:

1. Comparative studies of the childrearing practices of American-born generations of Asians should be undertaken. Community interest such as that shown by the McPherson group in the Chicago area should be encouraged and funded. Research proposals must be generated to provide data on the childrearing practices of 3d, 4th, and succeeding generations. Studies should be encouraged to find out what practices of the earlier generations have been retained, and in what form and degree. Some studies of this aspect have been started on Japanese and Chinese, but there is little information for groups such as the Filipinos, Koreans, Pacific Island peoples, Vietnamese, and smaller groups of Asians. From this springboard, more research on personality structure and the evolving culture fostering it will be generated.

2. The perceptions of adolescent Asian Americans should be studied to learn what they perceive their needs are as prescriptive guides towards more satisfactory adjustment to the dominant society. Inquiries on this aspect of adolescent personality should be useful not only in securing data on value judgments held by the American-born generation but also will greatly assist in improving the intergenerational communications which have been found to be the cause of many of the social problems of the minorities.

3. Comprehensive bibliographies on childrearing practices need to be collected and placed in a central repository with computer linkages to major research centers.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

There are many people who helped make this paper possible. Special thanks are due to:

Dr. William Liu and his staff at the Asian American Mental Health Research Center for providing helpful bibliographies.

Alice Esaki for always being prompt in furnishing requested material.

Tom Hibino for his unselfishness in lending materials needed.

Amy Okamura for providing helpful material.

Larry Koseki for sending pertinent bibliographies.

Ellie Ortiz of the Pacific Asian Coalition staff for her assistance in securing correct titles and sources of important material.

Cheryl McPherson and Mary Terada for sharing their data on child-rearing practices of Japanese-Americans in the Chicago area.

Carmen Salvador for assistance in securing material otherwise not immediately available.

Juanita Tamayo Lott whose faith and trust in the author's commitment to the cause of the Asian-American and Pacific Island peoples has never waivered.

The author is also deeply indebted to Dr. Asuncion M. Austria who provided not only advice but also critical evaluations which helped the author crystallize random thoughts and rambling conclusions into a coherent presentation.

But it is primarily the encouragement and support of the author's husband, children, and sister which made this study a reality.

MENTAL HEALTH ISSUES AMONG ASIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

Reiko Homma-True

REFLECTIONS

to my mother, who, because of
class, race, sex, and nationality discrimination, has never
felt herself worthy. . .

My mother entered this country illegally as a child; while growing up, she worked western bean fields. Half a century and a thousand backaches later, her papers read DISPLACED PERSON in the Book of White, since she could not prove that she had been here all that time.

When going, I was alone
Coming back, behold the moon.

My mother was married at 17 to an old man who ran a boarding house for Filipino farmworkers. The old man broke her jaw and scattered garbage on the just-mopped floor, just for the fun of it.

Wrap the rice in lotus leaves
And that will be enough.

In a moment of ire, my mother fled to Chicago, where upright members of the Korean community reminded her that divorced women were unchaste and that she should not presume to go to high school.

If the waters are muddy,
How about washing your feet?

My mother met my father, who told her that he would take care of her problems forever and send her to college on a Korean scholarship. A new lease on life lay waiting to be signed.

Looking back on mankind:
The further away, the better.

My mother worked as a salesclerk after graduation from a very proper women's college. And my father's uppercrust compatriots wondered loudly how he could have married such a lowborn woman who didn't even look Korean.

You say the boat is narrow:
What about the floating world?

My mother's memory is relaxing now. She reads the Reader's Digest, sleeps, watches television, and goes to cafeteria-style restaurants. She is suspended somewhere outside the rich world of American dreams and promises.

The Red Dust of Worldliness,
How long can it endure?

The wasted life of a lowly peasant woman from Asia, or a key to our understanding of history? The future is a dream of justice: the context groans for change.

My dress has gotten heavy with
The clouds that hide the world.

. . .E. H. Kim

from Asian Studies, 1971

INTRODUCTION

During the past decade, the mental health movement in the United States has generated revolutionary changes in the community, transforming the concept of mental health into a popular household jargon (Mora 1974; Segal 1975). The critics of the movement, however, have consistently pointed out that its greatest deficiency has been its failure to assist the residents of ethnic minority communities and the poor (Hollingshead and Redlich 1958; Chu and Trotter 1974).

As a minority among minorities, the Asian-American community has been one of the most neglected by the professional community, and the utilization rate of the mental health services by the Asian-Americans has been minimal (Lim 1972; Sue and McKinney 1975). Such a situation has been variously interpreted:

1. There is little evidence of distress in the community.
2. Although there is a greater degree of distress, it is disguised by the fact that (a) there is a well-developed system of mutual help within the community; or (b) the degree of stigma on mental illness is so great that the residents are not amenable to seeking help.

Only within the past few years, are such myths being questioned by concerned Asian-Americans who have opened the way for the development of a community-based, community-developed mental health program more meaningful and acceptable to Asian-Americans (Berk and Hirata 1973; Homma-True et al.

1975). Increasingly, Asian-Americans are expressing their interest in mental health-related needs and issues, and in developing an atmosphere for personal growth and development.

The purpose of the present paper is to explore the mental health issues unique to the Asian-American women, to consider potential sources of distress and barriers to optimal growth, and to entertain ideas for future action and research.

CONCEPTION OF MENTAL HEALTH

Defining the concept of mental health has been an elusive and difficult task. Many have attempted to form a universally applicable definition and have reached a similar conclusion that there is no completely acceptable, all-inclusive, concept of mental health; that standards vary with time, place, culture, and expectation of the social group (Jahoda 1958; Soddy and Ahrenfeldt 1967).

In such an attempt, the term "mental health" is frequently used as a euphemism for mental illness and, as in "public health," to refer to prevention and disease control. However, most agree that the concept should be much broader than the mere absence of illness and suggest criteria which include: positive attitude toward the self; sense of personal satisfaction; ability to cope with a variety of demands in life, e.g., work, personal relationships including family relationships, life crisis, and problems; and ability to grow and develop.

Although applicability of such criteria to Asian-Americans has not yet been fully explored, there appears to be a considerable degree of overlap. On the basis of these criteria, there are some indications that in a number of life situations, Asian-American women are experiencing stresses that serve as barriers to their optimum level of personal development and growth.

ASIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

When discussing Asian-American women as a group, one needs to be particularly sensitive to the diverse nature of the group. Under the rubric of Asian-Americans there are several distinctly separate ethnic groups, including Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Pacific Islanders, and most recently, several groups of Indochinese refugees. Other differences occur among generations, ages, socioeconomic levels, etc.

For this reason, one needs to be cautious about making broad generalizations. Since the data for this paper come primarily from Chinese and Japanese groups, with a few additional data from Korean and Filipino groups, the data should be recognized as having limited applicability to other groups.

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INDICATORS OF DISTRESS

A few years ago a tragic incident was reported in a San Francisco paper, involving a young Japanese mother who had come to the United States with her husband and her young son. For reasons unclear to others, she had been despondent for several weeks and one day, in a fit of outburst, went berserk and decapitated her son.

This situation is a dramatic instance of the failure of the community, both professional and nonprofessional, to recognize the people under stress and to reach out to them with alternatives before tragedy strikes. The questions concerning the situation of Asian-American women are: Are Asian-American women facing unique psychological distress? Is the degree of their distress greater than that of Asian-American men, or of other non-Asian groups? Because the technologies and resources available at present are limited, it is difficult to make truly complete assessments of the situations. However, the following data would seem to suggest the presence of certain types of distresses unique to Asian-American women, and others similar to those of other women and ethnic minorities. The sources of distress for Asian-American women would seem to be compounded because of their vulnerability to the sexist and racist conditions of our present social system.

While large-scale, extensive epidemiological studies and clinical studies have been conducted in Japan and China showing varying levels of distress for women in Asia (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend 1969; Kato 1969; Lin et al. 1969; Lin 1953; Rin 1969; Takasaka and Usui 1966), the methodologies used here to assess the levels of distress for Asian-American women were primarily a review of utilization data and personality studies.

Mental Health Service Utilization Data by Asian-American Women

Although mental health service client utilization data cannot be considered a truly adequate measure for the assessment of needs and prevalence of distress, they present some idea of the condition among a certain segment of the community. For this reason, such information is frequently used in conjunction with other indicators of stress such as sociodemographic data. The data generated from various community agencies serving Asian-American women, for this reason, are still at a preliminary stage, and the conclusions drawn from them are subject to further evaluation and clarification.

In spite of their limitations, these data do pose intriguing questions about the present status of Asian-American women. The data in table 1 show that Asian-American women utilize outpatient agencies at a significantly higher rate than Asian-American men, while the rate for inpatient service is the reverse. By contrast, American women in general utilize both outpatient and inpatient services at a higher rate than men do (Chesler 1972; Gove et al. 1973).

TABLE 1

MENTAL HEALTH SERVICE UTILIZATION RATE OF ASIAN AMERICANS

	Female		Male		Total Asian-American population in area: Female		Male			
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	T-test	P
Outpatient Services Resthaven (Chinese) L.A., 1972[1]	16	80.0	4	20.0	19,660	47.4	21,840	52.6	2.611 df=19	N .01
Asian community-1975[2] Mental Health--Alameda Co.--all	124	69.3	55	30.7	20,423	49.0	21,105	50.1	4.562 df=178	> .00001
Chinese	36	52.9	32	47.1	9,715	48.4	10,356	51.6	0.540 df=62	N .60
Japanese	52	82.5	11	17.5	5,564	55.0	4,553	45.0	3.986 df=62	> .0001
Filipino	12	70.6	5	29.4	4,705	44.4	5,892	55.6	1.827 df=16	N .089
Korean	24	77.4	7	22.6	439	59.1	304	40.9	1.823 df=30	N .067
San Francisco Chinatown, 1974[3] outpatient & day treatment (Chinese)	19	63.3	11	36.7	28,752	48.7	30,327	51.3	1.273 df=29	N .22
Oakland CFOC, 1974[4] (Chinese)	101	54.9	83	45.1	5,579	49.2	5,756	50.8	1.146 df=183	N .25
Seattle Asian-Americans[5] 1970-1973	57	60.0	38	40.0	11,707	48.4	12,505	51.6	1.752 df=94	N .08
Inpatient Services Calif. State Hospital, 1936-45[6] (Chinese)	35	12.8	238	87.[illegible]	7,739	25.84	22,243	74.24	4.624 df=272	> .00001
Resthaven (Chinese) L.A., 1972[1]	7	30.0	16	70.0	19,660	47.4	21,840	52.6	.922 df=22	N .33

[1] Brown et al., 1972.
[2] Homma-True et al., 1975.
[3] Lum, R., 1974.
[4] CFOC, 1975.
[5] S. Sue & H. McKinney, 1975.
[6] B. Berk & L. C. Hirata, 1972.

Note: Total U.S. Patients (1968)--Outpatient: F (62%), M (38%); Inpatient: (Public) F (61%), M (39%); (Private) F (60%), M (40%).

Cf. population
F - 51.3%
M - 48.7%

Differences among American women in general as opposed to men are interpreted in several ways without any conclusive evidence:

1. Women are under greater strain than men and are more susceptible to breakdowns. The stress is believed to be particularly taxing for married women, who suffer from high frequency of depression (Weissman and Paykel 1974).

2. Women are more aware of their problems and will more readily seek help than men. Such readiness to seek help may be due to the facts that their secondary role as a financial provider leaves them more time and energy to deal with problems; they are less threatened about recognizing their problems; and/or they are conditioned to assume the passive, helpless, feminine role which fits the passive help-seeking role of a client.

3. Women have fewer channels and resources to deal with strain. For example, while men can find ready outlets in their work away from the strains at home, women are often unable to escape from their role of housewife, or can find little gratification in their low-status work roles.

4. Traditional social attitude tends to view women as more pathological and to manipulate them to accept this sick stereotype for their own identity (Broverman et al. 1970; Chesler 1972).

These hypotheses may be equally applicable to Asian-American women, with added dimensions of stress; i.e., their status as an ethnic minority, and their status in an Asian community with the traditional patriarchal structure in which numerous constraints are placed upon women.

The high rate of inpatient admission for men may be understood to indicate that more men are required to function on the job, where disorganization of psychotic proportions, requiring inpatient admission, is more easily identifiable than for the housewife at home. Clarification of these and other questions in future studies could provide greater understanding of the condition of Asian-American women and help develop more effective ways of alleviating and preventing these strains.

A glimpse of the types of strain faced by Asian women can be gained from the demographic profile of the clients in two of the agencies cited previously (see tables 2 and 3). Critical factors here appear to be: immigrant status, poverty-level economic status, married status, ages between 19 and 45, having children, limited English-speaking ability, and being burdened with family relationship problems.

TABLE 2

ASIAN COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES PROFILE OF CLIENTS IN OAKLAND (ALAMEDA COUNTY) JUNE 1975

	Female	% of total	Male	% of total
Chinese	36	52.9	32	47.1
Japanese	52	82.5	11	17.5
Korean	24	77.4	7	22.6
Filipino	12	70.6	5	29.4
Total	124	69.3	65	30.7

Age

18-35 = 47%
36-45 = 33%

Marital Status	Not married	Married	No response
All Asian	28%	48%	24%
Chinese	32%	42%	25%
Japanese	27%	42%	31%
Korean	23%	65%	12%
Filipino	25%	42%	33%

Place of Birth No sex breakdown available.

All Korean and Filipino clients were foreign born. 26% of the Chinese and 18% of the Japanese clients were foreign born.

Employment Status	All Asian
Housewives	45%
Students	19%
Service-related	8%
Unskilled & semi-skilled	12%
No response	16%

Nationality of Spouse

Of the married Japanese women who responded: (n = 29)
45% were married to non-Japanese
34% were married to non-Asians
21% were married to whites

TABLE 2 (con't.)

Nationality of Spouse (con't.)

Of the married Chinese women who responded: (n = 22)
91% were married to Chinese
9% were married to whites

Of the married Korean women who responded: (n = 17)
59% were married to Koreans
41% were married to blacks or whites

Of the married Filipino women who responded: (n = 9)
67% were married to Filipinos
33% were married to non-Filipinos

Language Spoken

The designation of this variable was highly arbitrary. The only statement worth making is that a large percentage of the clients spoke mainly their native tongue and limited English.

Years in the Area

This variable only measured how long the client had been in the area, but not in the U.S. Ethnic breakdowns here are not significant. It may be enough to say that 54% of the clients had been in the area less than 5 years.

Presenting Problems

Marital-family relationships	35%
Neurotic symptoms	19%
Psychotic symptoms	16%
Personality disorder	8%
Other--financial, employment, etc.	21%

Modal Profile

18-35 years old, married.
12 years or less education.
Unemployed, housewife.
Foreign born, in U.S. 5 years or less.
Limited English-speaking ability.
Below poverty-level income.
Beset by a variety of problems; e.g., marital-family relationship, financial, employment.

TABLE 3

CHINATOWN FAMILY OUTREACH CENTER
CLIENT PROFILE, JUNE 1975

	Female*		Male*	
	#	%	#	%
Education				
0-6 years	45	44.6	27	32.1
7-12 "	38	37.6	43	51.2
13 + "	18	17.8	14	16.7
Language				
Chinese only	45	44.6	19	22.6
Chinese and limited English	30	29.7	2	31.0
Marital Status				
Single	31	20.8	32	38.1
Married	46	45.5	39	46.4
Widowed	15	14.9	4	4.8
Separated	12	11.9	6	7.1
Divorced	7	6.9	3	3.6
Primary Problem				
Life crisis	56	55.5	61	72.7
Neurosis	11	10.9	6	7.1
Psychosis	16	15.8	10	11.9
Organic disorder	2	2.0	0	0
Personality	16	15.8	7	8.3

	Female		Male	
	#	%	#	%
Age				
0-25	16	15.8	29	34.5
26-35	19	18.9	7	8.3
36-45	32	31.7	13	15.5
46-55	17	16.8	15	17.9
56 +	17	16.8	20	23.8
Employment				
Employed	23	23.0	40	47.6
Unemployed	59	58.3	18	31.4
Other	19	18.7	26	81.0
Monthly Income				
$ 0-250	58	57.4	41	52.3
251-500	24	23.8	24	28.5
501-750	13	12.9	11	13.1
751 +	6	5.9	5	6.0

TABLE 3 (con't.)

Modal Profile

36-45 years old.
Married.
12 years or less education.
Unemployed, housewife.
Foreign-born.
Limited English.
Less than $250 per month income.
Difficulty dealing with life crisis situations, especially marital/family strains.

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*Female, n = 101; male, n = 84.

Personality Studies

Although personality studies on Asian-Americans were in vogue during the past decade, their validity and relevance for assessing the pathology and needs are now seriously being challenged. The bases for these challenges are that: (1) the validity of the personality assessment instruments, particularly projective tests such as Rorschach and Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), has not yet been firmly established; (2) the cross-cultural applicability of the tests, which were standardized on the basis of white American subjects, has not yet been sufficiently studied; and (3) mere labeling of the ethnic minority subjects, outside the context of the complex social-political situations, does not provide sufficient understanding of the dynamic interplay between strengths and weaknesses but merely serves to justify the present social condition (Lindzey 1961; Kelman 1975).

For these reasons, the conclusions drawn on Asian-American women from these personality studies will need to be interpreted with caution.

Using Rorschach and TAT tests, Caudill and DeVos (1956) studied three groups of Japanese-Americans to assess the personality changes that occur with acculturation and to identify indications of maladjustment and rigidity as the result. The three groups included were Japanese-American men and women who were Issei (Japan-born, immigrants, first-generation), Nisei (second-generation, U.S.-born), and Kibei (the returnee: those who were born in the U.S., grew up in Japan, and returned to the U.S. after the War).

Their findings concerning Japanese-American women were: (1) Issei women were characterized by intensification of pathology, i.e., rigidity, construction, denial of impulse life, and bodily preoccupation; (2) Nisei women were the least rigid and most acculturated among all three groups.

What Caudill and DeVos failed to consider in this evaluation are the impacts of severe degree of social and political trauma inflicted on the Japanese-Americans before, during, and after World War II. These factors are more likely than others to have created major personal adjustments, despite courageous perseverence and strength.

Using the California Personality Inventory, Fong and Peskin (1969) found foreign-born Chinese female students in the United States manifesting the tendency to be deviant and rule breaking, more than the Chinese male students.

Using personality test scores, Meredith and Meredith (1966) found Sansei (third-generation) female Japanese-American students to manifest a higher level of anxiety and agitation than male students.

SOURCES OF STRESS AND CONFLICTS: BARRIER TO OPTIMUM GROWTH

In spite of the methodological limitations of the data cited previously, they indicate some questions concerning the level of distress among Asian-American women. When these data are matched with the knowledge and experience gained by working in Asian-American communities, several areas of the life of Asian-American women could be considered to produce strains and have potentially significant impact on their well being.

Life as Immigrants

The high utilization rate of Asian mental health services by immigrant women has already been noted. Although all immigrant groups are faced with serious strains in a broad range of areas--e.g. marginal socio-economic status, radical cultural readjustments, communication difficulties--the degree of strain varies among different cultural groups. While the severity of strains for European immigrants does not seem to make significant impact on the etiology of illnesses (Dohrenwend and Dohrenwend 1969), the same is not true for Asian immigrants in the United States because of the degree of the cultural gap and the intensity of pressure to acculturate (Ruesh et al. 1938; Brody 1969; Asian Studies 1971; Navarro 1976).

Although a high frequency of symptoms among immigrant women was also noted in an epidemiological study in Taiwan, particularly of neurotic and situational reaction types, it is unclear why immigrant women, more than men, are indicating their sense of distress. This is particularly puzzling when there are indications elsewhere that the experience of acculturation to the United States may be more difficult for men, as evidenced by the high level of anxiety found in some studies (Hallowell 1955). Such an impression was also shared by the workers involved in the recent resettlement of Indochinese refugees (Region IX Indochinese Mental Health Task Force meeting, June 1976, San Francisco).

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Among immigrant groups, refugees would warrant special concern because of the sudden, traumatic nature of their transition, particularly in terms of sex role readjustments.

Another group much ignored by mental health communities is the status of elderly women. The proportion of elderly women in Asian-American communities is rather high, with the exception of Chinese communities. They are generally isolated and physically ill, and they often feel despondent. If the data in Japan are any measure, the suicide rate among Japanese women, particularly among the elderly, has remained very high (Takasaka and Usui 1966). Further exploration of the status of the elderly, the causes of their distress, and the required changes should be conducted in the United States.

U.S.-Born Asian Women

United States-born Asian women, as a group, do not figure significantly in public agency figures, which may indicate either that they do not experience strains or that they do not have the language handicap and can seek other resources for help. Nevertheless, they form a significant percentage of Asian-Americans, particularly within Japanese-American communities.

There is some documentation of the plight of the younger native-born Asian women, in terms of the need to deal with conflicting cultural demands, identity conflicts, and struggles around sexism and racism in the community (Fujitomi and Wong 1973; Fong 1968; Maykovich 1973; Tellez 1976; Yamamoto 1968). However, much less is known about the status of women in their 30's and in middle age. If the cultural conflict and other identity issues are creating turmoil among younger women, the older women are more likely to have dealt with these questions at a time when the social climate was much more oppressive. Except for a few writings (Sone 1953; Wong 1950), their plight, or the absence of it, is unknown. They are a truly silent group.

TABLE 4

ASIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S.

	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino
Native-born	79%	53%	47%
Foreign-born	21%	47%	53%

One would wonder what kind of impact they have experienced during the war years, growing up in concentration camps, dealing with racism, etc. More recently, as their children are grown, are they experiencing, as other American women, the empty nest syndrome and the need to redefine their role and identity? Is the conflict greater for Asian women, whose traditional investment in the mother role may be much greater? What are their coping resources, and how are they dealing with the conflicts? These and other questions are areas for further exploration.

Marriage and Divorce

Traditionally among Asian-American families, preservation of family unity was one of the most sacred tenets of life. There were family discords and tensions, often compounded by the struggle to survive in a racist, hostile world. Not to disgrace the family honor, every effort was made to keep the family intact. When divorce did happen, the members of the broken families were treated with disgust and ostracism (Kitano 1969; Hsu 1971).

However, there are visible changes taking place in the Asian-American community concerning family mores, and the census figures indicate a gradual increase in family breakups. For example, while the divorce rate among three generations of Japanese was estimated at 1.6 percent in 1960, the figure in 1970 has risen to 3.8 percent. If the rates for separated and absent husband households are added, it is 6.3 percent. Although the figures for Chinese and Filipinos are somewhat lower, the rates are increasing.

Studies indicate that American married women are more likely than men to be experiencing greater distress, are more dissatisfied with their marriages, are more aware of problems, and are feeling inadequate as parents (Gurrin et al. 1960; Gove et al. 1973; Mostow and Newberry 1975). However, there is little understanding of married and divorced Asian-American men and women beyond the statistical figures. Questions arise about the nature of the marital interaction, the nature of the strains, the process of conflict resolution, the impact of the family breakup on the members, and the subsequent adjustment. The reaction of the children to a family breakup is a topic that is now creating research interest among American families (Wallerstein and Kelly 1975, p. 76). Similar questions should be raised for Asian-American families; and, in addition, information about the qualitative differences should be collected in view of the greater investment in the family system among Asian families.

Interracial Marriage

Asian-American communities have traditionally disapproved of interracial marriages and treated anyone who violated the norm as persona non grata (Feagan and Fujitaka 1972; Jacobs and Landau 1971). Following the end of World War II, there was a gradual increase in the number of interracial marriages in the community. This trend was also boosted by a rapid influx of Asian women who were married to American servicemen and

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other related personnel. The latest figures indicate a very high proportion, particularly among Japanese women. The number continues to rise among younger groups.

With the exception of a few studies (Strauss 1954), most reports on the outcome of war-bride marriages are pessimistic, describing multiple sources of strain (Bok-Lim Kim 1972; Sil Kim 1975). Although not as devastating as the war brides, the expectation of the outcome of other intermarriages is discouraging (Gordon 1964). Predictions for the successful adjustment of the offspring of those marriages are equally negative (Gordon 1964; Teicher 1968) and have provided the basis for the concept of "marginal man" (Stonequist 1935). However, these predictions are not based on findings from methodologically sound research. Further investigation into the impact of biculturalism and biracialism, in terms of the process of identity development adjustment, nature of conflicts, successful and unsuccessful resolution of conflicts, etc., would contribute to the understanding of a pressing social issue.

TABLE 5

MARRIAGE WITHIN OWN SUBGROUP BY SEX, 1970

Percent of all married persons with a spouse of the same ethnic/racial group		U.S. total	Asian-Americans		
			Japanese	Chinese	Filipinos
16 years +	Male	99%	88%	87%	67%
	Female	99%	67%	88%	72%
16-24 years	Male	NA	62%	59%	51%
	Female	NA	54%	72%	50%
25-44 years	Male	NA	84%	84%	72%
	Female	NA	57%	87%	72%
45 years +	Male	NA	93%	90%	63%
	Female	NA	84%	93%	88%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-D1; Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, PC(2)-1G.*

TABLE 6

ASIAN-AMERICANS MARRYING OUTSIDE OWN SUBGROUP BY ORIGIN OF SPOUSE, 1970

	Origin of Spouse				
	% other Asian	% White*	% Spanish origin	% Black	% other**
Origin of wife					
Japanese	8%	81%	4%	3%	4%
Chinese	18%	59%	8%	3%	13%
Filipino	7%	54%	22%	7%	9%
Origin of husband					
Japanese	14%	65%	8%	1%	12%
Chinese	25%	49%	12%	3%	11%
Filipino	12%	42%	30%	3%	12%

*Not including Spanish origin.
**Includes Asians who are not Japanese, Chinese, or Filipinos; American Indians, etc.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports: Marital Status, PC(2)-4C.

Employment

While the traditional image of the Asian woman is that of a devoted mother and wife who stays home to care for her family, unusually high proportions of Asian-American women are employed. In spite of the high levels of educational attainment, however, they are employed at lower level occupations, earning low salaries.

TABLE 7

SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ASIAN WOMEN IN THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND METROPOLITAN AREA

	Asian women			White women	White men
	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino		
Proportion of adult women in labor force	54.0 %	52.1 %	58.7 %	43.9 %	-
Proportion who are college graduates	23.0 %	28.3 %	36.5 %	24.0 %	32.4%
Proportion who earn more than $10,000/year	2.49%	4.36%	2.15%	5.27%	37.7%

Note: Data presented in these tables were developed by ASIAN, Inc., as part of a larger study on employment discrimination patterns of Bay Area Asians.

Source: 1970 census.

Several hypotheses may be suggested to explain the underdevelopment and low earning power of Asian-American women:

1. Asian-American women are educationally less equipped to qualify for a broader range of occupations.

2. Asian-American women are more discriminated against in the job market than others.

3. The personality of Asian-American women makes them less competitive--e.g., quiet, passive--in gaining higher status jobs.

4. Asian-American women suffer from the syndrome of motive to avoid success, as do white middle-class women (Komarovsky 1946; Horner 1972).

5. The priority of the Asian-American woman is still her role as a housewife, and the worker role is secondary.

These hypotheses will all need further exploration, as will such questions as: How do Asian women feel about this condition? How does it affect their sense of well-being? How does it affect their personal relationships with others?

While work is often perceived as a protection against psychiatric breakdown, when it is too strenuous, too dissatisfying, or too conflicting with other responsibilities at home, it could also become a source of frustration and strain. Future studies should be directed at locating the processes by which Asian-American women are led into such stressful work situations and the possible remedies.

Another source of strain in the area of work may be with the substantial number of married women who will have to leave young children with caretakers. For American women in general, this has been a source of considerable controversy (Yudkin and Holme 1969; Murray 1975). In view of the strong, traditional value placed on the maternal role in childrearing, it will be of particular concern to assess the impact of maternal employment on Asian-American children and the family as a whole.

A story often repeated is the unhappy one of Chinatown immigrant mothers who have to work long hours in sweatshops to eke out a meager income and whose children are left at home and are recruited into the ranks of the street gangs. What alternatives can prevent such situations? Can we profit from the experience of the new child care system in China? The answers to these questions need to be explored.

Sexuality

While Americans are increasingly recognizing the need to deal more openly with issues related to sexuality, the relevance of such issues in the Asian-American community in terms of needs and priorities is equivocal. When there are other pressing needs in the community, issues of sexuality seem less critical or objectionable. However, there are some salient questions in this area that merit some consideration.

Among Asian-American mental health professionals, there is some sense that Asian-Americans, particularly older generations, are generally reserved about sexual mores and that the discussion of sex is a very sensitive issue (Kitano 1969; Hsu and Tseng 1972). However, there are also reports of contradictory standards and practices in Asia, suggesting wide variations among classes and sexes. The old double standards have often put Asian women in the role of passive, compliant playthings (Asian Studies 1971).

However, there may be an incipient trend for greater and more open involvement. The changes that are now taking place in Japan may be viewed as an indication for potential change here. According to the extensive Kinsey-type study conducted in Japan in 1974 on 5,000 representative high school students ranging in age from 16 to 21, today's female students are radically different from those of 15 years ago in terms of the onset of interest and the level of interest in sex and the percent who became sexually involved (Shukan 1975). Some indications of the emerging trend in the Asian-American community are also reported in an exploratory survey conducted in Oakland (Homma-True and Nahn 1976) in which a significant number of high school boys (41.5 percent) and girls (32.5 percent) expressed interest in sex information, while at the same time reporting the restrictive attitude of their parents on this matter. There were no differences among the three ethnic groups surveyed--Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino.

CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH STRATEGIES

Although a number of areas have been identified as potential areas for investigation and there are many more possibilities, special efforts will need to be made not to perpetuate the damages and mistakes made in minority community research by white academicians (Billingsley 1970; Campana et al. 1973; Kelman 1972). Some of the critical issues to be considered are as follows:

1. Since most of the basic research related to women uses white American women as subjects, the applicability of such research to Asian-American women should be carefully examined.
2. Since there is little knowledge and understanding of Asian-American women, there is a need and a place for research in this area. At the same time, it will be more productive to encourage research on both sexes, since there is also a dearth of knowledge on Asian-American men.
3. In selecting the areas of investigation, priority should be given on the basis of relevance to the community, particularly in terms of potential for generating changes. Although this should not exclude the need for basic research, the implementation of basic research should be carefully weighed in terms of resources available to the community.
4. In addition to academic qualifications, the criteria for selecting researchers should emphasize: (a) commitment to serve the needs of the community; and (b) familiarity and sensitivity to the issues in the community. An attempt should be made to expand beyond the traditional locus of the university as the recruitment ground for researchers and include competent community people as well.
5. The community should be invited to participate in developing and conducting the research.
6. An effort should be made to develop better alternatives to culturally biased research instruments such as projective

tests and personality inventories. Such alternatives could include: culture-free or culturally relevant tests, and greater reliance on other methodologies such as case studies, interviews, and participant observations.

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IMPEDIMENTS TO ASIAN-PACIFIC-AMERICAN WOMEN ORGANIZING

Germaine Q. Wong

PREFACE

This paper has been written from a highly personal viewpoint. I am not active in any feminist organizations, nor have I reviewed the literature on this particular topic. While I have talked with a number of women in different parts of the United States who have participated in some kind of "women's movement" activities, I did not try to make any systematic poll in geographic locations with concentrations of Asian-Pacific-American women.

Since I have had very limited contact with Pacific-Americans, this paper may be totally irrelevant to their lives. I have had greater interactions with Korean-, Filipino-, and Japanese-American women, but my comments may only deal superficially with their experiences. What I have been involved with to a large extent is community organizing and civil rights activities in the Chinese community and, to a lesser degree, in the Asian-American and Third World communities. In addition, I was on the staff of the Asian-American Studies program at the Berkeley campus of the University of California, which has a curriculum with a radical perspective. Through my community activities, work experience, and personal experience, I have had an opportunity to know Asian-American (mostly Chinese) women from different economic classes, native-born and foreign-born, young and old, reactionary, conservative, liberal, and radical.

INTRODUCTION

Like our Latin and Black sisters, Asian-Pacific-American women have not, except in isolated cases, played a significant role in the women's liberation movement in the United States. Neither have we formed--by ourselves or together with other Third World women--any formidable groups advocating our rights as Asian-Pacific or Third World women.

For years, we have had our women's church groups, women's service organizations, women's professional societies, etc., separate from, and many times parallel to, our Anglo counterparts; but, like theirs, our groups have served as auxiliaries to men's organizational activities or were created because of male chauvinistic practices which excluded or ignored women. Only to a very limited extent have these women's groups advanced the cause of women's liberation. In fact, they have, more often than not, enhanced male domination in our society and reinforced subordinated roles for women.

The formation of these organizations could, however, be viewed as a step toward the liberation of Asian-Pacific-American women, in comparison with traditional social organizations in the various Asian and Pacific Island societies. There were very few women's groups, and there were no institutionalized leadership roles for women. Those women who acquired power did so outside the "system."

While there undoubtedly were spontaneous efforts to organize Asian-Pacific-American women around specific issues (e.g., the unavailability or high cost of basic foods) and events (Angel Island, World War II concentration camps) they were probably sporadic and lacked the necessary qualities for longevity and growth.

ASIAN-PACIFIC-AMERICAN WOMEN TODAY

Many Asian-Pacific-American women are still struggling to maintain subsistence for our families. Those of us who are immigrants have had little, if any, education; if we read at all, we only read a poor quality newspaper; we have not been exposed to the possibilities that our lives could be dramatically changed through our own efforts.

But more and more of us, immigrant and American-born, are beginning to hear talk about controlling our own lives as Asian-Pacific-Americans, and now as women.

The Middle Class

Some Asian-Pacific-American women who have gained confidence and leadership skills through the traditional women's organizations in our communities have begun to agree with the demands made by women of the dominant society for equal rights and equal pay. Some have actually begun to voice their opinions in support of such causes, and a few have even begun to join organizations like the National Organization for Women.

The Political Activists

Asian-Pacific-American women who are active in radical politics and many of the growing number of women who are attending colleges and taking Asian-American Studies courses have formed numerous small study groups which have focused on women's issues.

When Asian-Pacific-American "leftist" groups first formed, women were very strong supporters and active participants. However, they were generally relegated to, or "naturally" assumed, traditional women's functions, and very rarely were allowed, or took the initiative, to fill leadership positions. The women cooked, typed, cleaned, filed, swept, passed out leaflets, picketed, and, if they were personally close to the male leadership and had a relatively high level of political consciousness, they sometimes wielded some influence.

As the initial crisis-oriented stage passed, though, the women, and some of the more liberated men, realized that the traditional male/female relationships had not changed. The women did participate (i.e., they did not stay at home), but they did so in the stereotyped mold: housekeeping, clerical, and/or menial tasks. Slowly and consciously, men began to perform some of these "womanly" chores. Even more slowly, women have been assuming leadership roles in these organizations. More recently, women have recognized that "equal" participation in these "struggles to overthrow the ruling class" will not necessarily mean the automatic emancipation of women. Thus, they have organized study groups to explore means of liberating women that are compatible with, or that must and can be adopted by, the larger group. To my knowledge, no similar groups of Asian-Pacific-American men have been formed to deal with this same topic.

The Students

Many campus and postcollege study/discussion groups that are not politically oriented have been initiated. Unfortunately, they have seldom, if ever, made any real impact on the liberation of Asian-Pacific-American women. This is especially true for those groups that have no specific focus or appropriate literature on which to center their discussions. As a result, they deteriorate into "rap" sessions where the participants relate their own experiences (e.g., problems I'm having with my boyfriend, problems getting a boyfriend, etc.), but are unable to synthesize and learn from such interchanges. Instead, they tend to wallow in each other's misery. Even that, however, has a redeeming quality, because the women have at least shared their thoughts and feelings, and they know that their experiences are not unique or unusual (i.e., they are not freaks). Fortunately, these groups disintegrate before they can inflict any lasting damage. After all, if the women are unable or unwilling to go beyond that narcissistic type of discussion, and if they actually enjoy commiserating with each other, what will they have accomplished?

There are a few Asian-American Studies courses on Asian-American women at some colleges, mostly on the West Coast. University of California, Berkeley, and Stanford University have published journals about Asian-American women. UCLA's Asian-American Studies Center plans to publish one in the near future. It is difficult to assess the impact of such courses on the liberation of Asian-Pacific-American women. Except for the journals, which are a tangible contribution of collective effort, the students have not formed groups to expouse the feminist cause. If they are promoting women's causes, they are doing so as individuals.

The Workers

Working women do not have the luxury to sit around and read and intellectualize. This is especially true for the Asian-Pacific-American woman who has no choice but to work if her family is to have shelter and food. Even so, some of these women, because of their awareness of the civil rights and women's liberation movements, have begun to examine their conditions at work and at home. These examinations have in a few instances led to demonstrations and strikes--actions that highlight their exploited and unequal treatment and their demands for decent working conditions and wages.

Many women have found that their political activism has only accentuated their subordinate position at home. Their husbands, using such tactics as intimidation, ridicule, and violence, have demanded that they cease such "wasteful" activities. Women's place is in the home or, if necessary, in the world of work to contribute to the family's income. Many women, understandably, have succumbed to their husband's dominance combined with the family and societal pressures that attempted to make them feel guilty and shameful, but other women have successfully overcome such browbeating.

The Homosexuals

Almost nothing is known about Asian-Pacific-American lesbians. Only a very few have openly lived as homosexuals, and if there is an organization of these women, the general public does not know about it. It never occurs to most people that Asian-Pacific-American lesbians exist. Even among more progressive groups, these women are either shunned or looked upon with contempt. If they were to come out of their closets, they would probably be among those most discriminated against.

Summary

Today, Asian-Pacific-American women are becoming more active in various liberation movements; however, they tend to join groups that advocate improved conditions for people of their own ethnic background, rather than a group oriented towards women's issues. Some have become members of workers' organizations. A growing number are becoming involved with feminist causes, but they have mostly been within their own ethnic groups rather than in the majority society.

IMPEDIMENTS TO ASIAN-PACIFIC-AMERICAN WOMEN ORGANIZING

There appear to be some basic experiences that are common, or similar, among different societies. For example, all women--poor, rich, and middle class, black, brown, yellow, red, and white--have been denied education and employment opportunities; all of them to varying degrees have been confined to raising the children and cleaning the home. However, this does not mean that we can mechanically pick up successful programs that have advanced the liberation of one group of women and impose them in their entirety on another group. Our pasts are different. Our cultural, economic, social, and political developments in Asian countries and Pacific Islands, as well as in this country, are not the same as the developments of the women in the dominant society (i.e., whites).

Male Domination

No matter how it came about, we are from, and live in, male-dominated societies. Everything about and around us has been defined in masculine terms. Even our awareness of our inferior status has evolved from the actions and ideas of men.

The manifestations of this male domination are as varied as the numerous circumstances from which we come. One of the major factors that Asian-Pacific-American women must deal with is that thousands upon thousands of men from the United States with whom they interact participated in the "Pacific War Theaters"--World War II, Japanese reconstruction, the Korean War, cold war occupation, Vietnam War. These men's attitudes, perceptions, and behavior toward us in the United States are heavily influenced by their individual and collective experiences under military conditions in those Pacific Islands and Asian countries.

The men who used Asian-Pacific women as prostitutes very likely feel today, consciously or not, that Asian-Pacific-American women are beneath their dignity; that we do not value ourselves because we are "willing" to sell ourselves so cheaply; that we are only good for meeting their base needs; etc., etc.

The men who saw Asian-Pacific women in places like tea houses may have come to expect us to be good, faithful, uncomplaining, totally compliant, self-effacing, gracious servants who will do anything and everything to please, entertain, and make them feel comfortable and carefree. All of this they had for "free" when buying drinks or a meal; in present-day circumstances they expect this behavior to come "free" for the salary paid in exchange for work performed. They expect Asian-Pacific women to be like this "by nature"; it is part of the charm of the Oriental culture.

The men who bossed Asian-Pacific women in factories and other work places see us as a part of the machinery, as nonhuman. We are viewed in terms of our efficiency and productivity. They believe that, unlike humans, we do not complain; we do what we are told, quietly and quickly; we do not cause trouble. Like machines, we do not have feelings, we are a low-cost factor, we come cheap.

These are just three examples of how a vast number of men in this country may have internalized their military experiences in the Pacific. The experiences obviously did not take place in isolation. However, each man interacted with Asian and Pacific women in these various roles to varying degrees (e.g., some of the more timid men may have used prostitutes very seldom, while the wealthier men may have spent a great deal of time at tea houses) and responded to these encounters differently. Furthermore, "locker room" talk also contributed to the men's overall outlook about women. Thus, we must deal with men who possess contradictory concepts about women which embody images of women that they have acquired from the majority society, from their own families and environment, and from their more recently acquired impressions about Asian-Pacific women.

Working Women

In the world of work, Asian-Pacific-American women are probably not aware of male domination even though they may be somewhat cognizant of the more publicized male chauvinist practices of the Anglo society. In general, most working women in the United States are relegated to low-paying, menial, nonpolicymaking, nonprestigious positions. However, Asian-Pacific-American women seem "willing" to accept even lower pay, to work even harder and more efficiently, to go beyond the normal job duties and make work more comfortable and pleasant for the men--a la the geisha. Beyond that, we are expected to use our meager wages to dress in an appealing manner. Those who are more physically attractive are expected to add an exotic touch and sexual allure to the decor and yet, in many instances, are looked upon with disdain--a la Suzie Wong. Since, with rare exceptions, we work because of economic need, it is difficult to conceive of, or consider, the idea of organizing to eliminate such practices.

War Brides

If the Asian-Pacific-American working women are exploited and taken for granted, the immigrant war brides faced even more bewildering and frightening situations. We did not grow up in the United States. While we too lived in male-dominated societies, we internalized the male-defined societal values of our specific country or island. We met our future husbands in our native surroundings, and the relationships developed in familiar territory. Certainly, male chauvinism prevailed; however, we "only" had to go through the more complex adjustments to our married state because we had married foreign husbands as opposed to our newlywed counterparts who married "local boys."

Relocation to the United States compounded the already delicate, and perhaps tenuous, condition of these marriages. With fear of the unknown and sadness at leaving familiar surroundings and dear friends and relatives, we crossed the Pacific Ocean to a new life--a new country, new relatives, new lifestyles, new everything.

Some of us adapted better than others, but our positions as women inferior to men were most likely reinforced. Like anyone else, we want to feel secure and loved. However, conflicting and unfamiliar behavioral norms--within the United States as well as those between two different societies--made it difficult, if not impossible, for us to know how to act in a manner that will gain the approval that we want and need. (For example, our husbands may have approved and enjoyed certain behavior on our part in the Philippines, but reacted negatively to the same conduct in Omaha, Nebraska.) Male domination may be almost universal, but masculine definitions of appropriate behavior definitely vary from culture to culture. How can we even begin to think about organizing when we do not know the rules of this society?

Picture Brides

An even more traumatic situation is that of the picture bride leaving her entire life behind, traveling across miles and miles of water--all alone--to meet a stranger who will be her husband and to live in a new country that has no common cultural base with the one from which she came, save the few ethnic enclaves established by previous immigrants. Some people would choose to think of this as an exciting adventure, or maybe a fortuitous event allowing the Asian-Pacific woman to escape poverty and ignorance and enter into a comfortable and enlightened existence. In doing so, however, they are ignoring or denying the fact that those of us in this situation are forced into it. We do not choose to leave our friends and a familiar environment to travel thousands of miles to marry someone who is a total stranger and make a new life in an alien and unwelcoming country. The only Americans we have met are the G.I.'s at war or on "R and R." Economic and family circumstances dictate this course, and we--perhaps only after defiant and rebellious but beaten-down attempts to reverse it--go with trepidation to face this unknown future. Male domination, even though it emerges differently because of cultural and individual distinctions, is familiar, and that familiarity can evoke a sense of security. Having arrived in the United States, we must adjust to life with a stranger in a disconcerting society. We are hardly in a position to mount a campaign to organize Asian-Pacific-American women. Though they certainly contribute to making it a difficult situation, having to deal with new as well as traditional forms of male chauvinism may be the least of our worries.

Immigrant Mothers

Some of us emigrated from Asian countries and Pacific Islands with our Asian and Pacific husbands and children. Perhaps we may have participated in the decision to come to the United States. We hoped that opportunities for our children would be more abundant here, for their futures would have been bleak and dismal if we had stayed. We very likely anticipated difficulties and crises; nevertheless, we were probably not conscious of the fact that masculine-dominated thinking and power contribute to the frustrations of adjusting to a racist and sexist society with an economic system that supports the exploitation of the majority by a handful of rich people. The highly technocratic, automated, materialistic, gadget-oriented life of the United States is impressive, yet terrifying.

Since most of us in this category must join the work force if the family is to eat and have a roof over its head, our particular plight has heightened our awareness about our interior status. We know too well, from having worked for American bosses before, that they are only interested in profits, not the welfare of their workers. At a few workplaces, we have begun to organize, but it has been a formidable task. Our husbands have strenuously objected to such action because it is "unfeminine," jeopardizes our ability to obtain employment, and takes away from our traditional "female" chores at home. Despite such opposition, we have begun to organize against a tyrannical system that denies us our rights and refuses to acknowledge our worth.

Students and Political Activists

Most Asian-Pacific-American female students are not political activists; this is particularly true about foreign students. However, many of us who are political activists are, or were, college students. The basic experiences and outlooks of these two groups differ, but they have enough in common to be considered as one group for the purposes of this paper.

Students, because they have the time, and political activists, because they are more aware and have the desire, are studying the many aspects of male domination in the ideas, actions, and organizations that constitute our society. Those of us who are fortunate enough to be in such study groups are doing research into our pasts, analyzing the circumstances, events, and causes that have led to our current state, exploring different ways that might possibly alter and revolutionize the manner in which Asian-Pacific-American women live and view their existence.

The all-American male--the male administrators who fought the "Japs" in World War II, the male teachers who held the line in Korea--make the rules to which we are expected to conform. The male students who came back from Vietnam, the males of all colors, economic classes, and backgrounds, are all superior to us. Nevertheless, we are more conscious of some of the dynamics which reinforce our subordinate position.

Although we must deal with the contradictory attitudes and views about us as students, women, Asian-Pacific-Americans, foreigners, and all the various combinations that we are, even more so than Anglo women, we can challenge the traditional institutions that trap us. We are less burdened by economic necessities and social pressures, and thus are more open to new ideas. We are exposed to new ways of thinking. We are more cognizant of our subjugated positions in this world of masculine-defined culture. We recognize the need for a collective effort, since as individuals we will never succeed. We are beginning to resist male definitions of our roles and to demand our rights to determine our future direction.

Homosexuals

Until recently, negative attitudes toward homosexuality have been so pervasive in this country that people are only now beginning to be more open and willing to acknowledge their existence. Societal pressures have produced a group of people many of whom continue to hide their homosexuality even today. This is especially true for Asian-Pacific-American lesbians. For men who view Asian-Pacific women (no matter how many generations we have been in the United States, we will never be considered "Americans") as exotic sexual play objects, lesbians of Asian-Pacific

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descent would be particularly abhorrent. Thus, those of us who are lesbians must deal with this additional burden that will keep us down. Few of us live openly homosexual lives, because we know that our families would be ashamed, our coworkers would be stunned, and we would have one more characteristic that could be used to discriminate against us.

Summary

The G.I. experience in the Pacific was used to illustrate a specific aspect of male domination as a barrier to an improved state for Asian-Pacific-American women. The effects on six broad categories of women were briefly highlighted. However, life is not so easily compartmentalized. The expectations that an Anglo male supervisor who was stationed in Guam during World War II has about Asian-Pacific women can result in unknown hardships for the newly hired second-generation young woman who recently graduated from a Chinatown high school. The dilemma of a female Japanese woman suburbanite vying for the same law school opening as a Chicano Vietnam veteran has many troubling aspects. The influence of male domination in these and other such encounters is hard to assess. We can be fairly certain, though, that male dominance makes it that much more difficult for Asian-Pacific-American women to improve their position in this country and is a considerable obstacle to their organizing.

CULTURAL FACTORS

Our traditional passivity in the face of overwhelming pressures that maintain our inferior positions as women is the result of centuries of oppression. Our cultures and education have reinforced this condition. We have learned to define ourselves in relationship to our fathers' and husbands' positions in society. We are nothing by ourselves, and we know no hope of change. Unless our situations become unbearable, it is easier for us to go along than to resist. It is easier to live with familiar behavior that subjugates us than to fight and face agony and pain. This passivity is not peculiar to Asian-Pacific-American women--most women around the world suffer a similar fate. However, there have been particular experiences unique to Asian-Pacific-American women that especially hinder our ability to organize.

We come from different cultures and we have acquired different educations. The ways we got to the United States are so numerous that it is probably impossible ever to itemize them. To get some idea of how cultural factors manifest themselves as an impediment to change, this section will focus on Chinese-American women.

The First Generation

Immigrants who enter the United States in 1976 leave behind a culture that is quite different from that of the immigrants who crossed the Pacific Ocean in the 1930's or 1940's or 1950's. Today, Hong Kong and Taiwan are much more urbanized, westernized, and "multinationalized." Even so, like our predecessors, we who comprise this group have learned that we are not as good as men, we are worth less, we are a financial burden on our families. We have very little, if any, formal education, because our families could not afford the tuition. We are so caught up in our efforts to survive that we cannot think about changing "the system" that encumbers us. We can only think about possible ways of getting more out of "the system." One such road is to emigrate to the United States. Economic circumstances force us to this "opportunity." With fear and trembling, hope and anticipation, we come to a new life and a new culture. If we are lucky, life will be good, and maybe we can arrange to have other family members come to this "golden mountain." If we are unlucky, we will lead a life of hardship and toil. Our fate is out of our hands--we are at the mercy of unknown forces.

We will be obedient and compliant to our husbands' wishes. We will work hard and do as our bosses command. We do not dare to challenge them, because we are dependent upon them. Without them, how will we survive in this strange land? Besides, we know no other course of action. Tradition teaches us that this is our lot.

We are largely unaware of the Nation's women's liberation movement. After all, those in the movement do not speak Chinese; the literature is not in Chinese; no one approaches us to talk about it; and, even if they did, we probably would avoid them because they might be government officials trying to make trouble for us.

Very likely, we are unfamiliar with the notion of birth control. We resign ourselves to having more children than we can handle or afford. If we have somehow managed to learn about birth control methods, our husbands may object; thus we are destined to years of feeding babies, washing diapers, etc. Conflicts and confusion arise because we are not sure how our husbands view childrearing. More unknown are the "American" methods of raising children. Since we only know what we have been exposed to, it is with anxiety that we care for our children. They must learn to speak English if they are to have a chance at success in this country. However, we cannot teach them English. We can only hope that the children are intelligent and will study hard, have good teachers, and somehow learn English. Similarly, we cannot teach them the social skills that will help them gain confidence and feel at ease in all different situations, and make a good impression on people.

Because of our background and training, we do not seek out strangers to teach us "the American way"; we do not turn to books for information; we do not ask our husbands, who see childrearing as women's work.

The Second Generation

We who comprise the first U.S.-born women of Chinese descent many times feel that we are caught between two cultures. Some of us want very much to please our parents, but we want to be happy and successful too. Unfortunately, the two desires are not always compatible. In the traditional Chinese culture children are subordinate to their parents, and there is a definite pattern in life for us to follow (i.e., a female's role is to marry, bear children, and be obedient to her husband) which will result in a continued state of subordination for Chinese women. Happiness in life is something out of our control.

In the United States, too, women have historically been excluded from playing major roles. However, in more recent years the rugged individualism expected of men has also, to a limited extent, been permitted to women. Women are still expected to be good housewives and mothers but, within those boundaries, they are more active in their pursuit of personal happiness.

Some of us are ashamed of our "backward" Chinese background and rebel against its every aspect. In so doing, however, we usually continue to accept our submissive role as women. Our inferior status as women has been so thoroughly internalized that we do not question it. If we did exert ourselves, our parents would be ashamed and disappointed that we had rejected our Chinese heritage. In our rebelliousness, we have been indoctrinated by western culture to such a degree about individualism that the idea of organizing collective action has not entered our minds.

Another factor that contributes to our lack of aggressiveness is our "language problem." Like the general populace, some of us are not particularly gifted in languages, and unless special efforts were made to help us become facile in the Chinese and/or English language(s), we are not very articulate in either language. That fact makes us extremely reticent on matters about which we feel strongly or which we know are controversial.

In addition, the civil rights movement in the United States has made many of us cognizant of racist practices which have successfully discriminated against Third World people in every way--employment, education, housing, law. Having internalized the notion that we are subordinate to men, those of us who participated in the struggle for racial equality viewed it as an effort to create improved conditions and opportunities for our people, our men, but not specifically for ourselves as Third World or Chinese-American women.

There are a number of us who believe that we have the best of both worlds. We are able to take the "good" parts of the East and West, and discard the "bad" parts. We have bought the western line about women being put on a pedestal, the perfect wife and mother who has stood by her husband and provided needed support--without her, he wouldn't have made it. We see nothing wrong in being "feminine," but we do believe in equal pay for equal work. While there may be basic contradictions involved with such views. It is easier to accept and believe them, for they provide us with a degree of contentment. To doubt or examine them too closely may lead to anger, bitterness, and unhappiness.

The Fifth Generation

More and more of us are descendants of Chinese-American families who have been here for several generations. Most of us grew up, and today live, in the suburbs. The influence of the traditional Chinese culture is nearly nonexistent, or so diffused that it is indiscernible. Some cultural factors which may carry over, however subtly, include the attitudes that females are not as good as males, women are subordinate to men in every relationship, women are expected to get married and have children. Many of these viewpoints are reinforced by Western male chauvinistic practices. We grew up with these feelings, so that we feel guilty and/or uneasy when we don't follow them. Many times we may not recognize the dynamics of the situation. We are uncomfortable going to our parents to talk about it. Therefore, we hope that the situation will somehow resolve itself, or, if we do act, it is only to back off and choose not to challenge tradition.

Many times our values and lifestyles are "all-American," but because of the color of our skin, we are not accepted in the same way as our white counterparts. As the liberation of women grows, Chinese-American women must still overcome Western stereotypes about "Oriental" women. On the one hand, feminists are impatient with us because we are not aggressive enough--we are too docile. On the other hand, men are upset with us because we do our work in a professional manner--we are not their handmaidens.

In striving for individual expression and personal fulfillment, many times we become frustrated without knowing why. Some of us do nothing about this frustration--we just accept it; others of us ignore it and hope it will disappear; still others wrestle with it, but are limited by their knowledge, experience, and personal disposition.

Summary

A few generalized experiences of Chinese-American women who represent different generations in the United States were used as an example to explore the ways in which cultural factors are an impediment to Asian-Pacific-American women's organizing. The internalization of subordination and fatalism were emphasized, but there are many other elements.

The role of organized religions, both Judeo-Christian and Eastern, must be examined, as they have had a major influence on Asian-Pacific-American women. And, because cultures are not static, the element of time may be critical (e.g., year we immigrated; age at immigration; year and place of birth; are we a fourth-generation Japanese-American 18-year-old who grew up in Gardena, California; or a first-generation Korean woman who came to the United States in 1955 as a foreign student and who now lives in Kansas City, Missouri; or a Vietnamese war bride who came to this country in 1974 and now resides in Atlanta, Georgia, or . . .).

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The economic structure of the various societies from which we come have reinforced barriers to be overcome if Asian-Pacific-American women are to organize and form a power base. The United States changed from an agricultural to an industrial economy earlier than did Asian and Pacific societies. This fundamental economic change contributed heavily to the continued subordination of women and made it even more difficult for women to attain equal rights.

In an agrarian society, poor women had to join their men in working the land. The family was the unit of production as well as consumption. There was a common base because both women and men participated in a shared effort to provide the family's economic necessities of the family. With the advent of the industrial revolution, women were denied the opportunity to be major economic contributors--men were hired for jobs. If women were hired, they were placed in low paying, menial positions. Dignity and worth for the man were now determined by the job he held. A woman's status was defined by her husband's work.

For the working man, the sanctity of the home became all-important. The cold, impersonal conditions that men experienced at work resulted in a more conscious effort to preserve family traditions and intensified the pressure to maintain the traditional role of women in the home, still viewed as nonproductive work.

This economic class structure has created a barrier between working-class women and upper-class women. Women derive their status vicariously through their husbands. Since wealthy men and working men have contradictory and opposing interests, so too do their women. Affluent women can expend their time and energies demanding educational and voting rights, but to poor women who have time only for their families and income-producing jobs, those are frivolous activities. If working-class women were to exert themselves, they would support efforts to improve the employment status of their men because they are the principal breadwinners for their families. It appears that men and women within the same class have more in common than do women of different economic classes.

Asian Colonization

The colonization of underdeveloped countries has strengthened traditionalism and superstition. They are known entities to which we cling in a rapidly changing society. Many Asian countries and Pacific Islands have been European and/or American colonies. These Western rulers, in the process of making ever-increasing profits for their countries and themselves, have divested the Asian-Pacific men of their traditional authority. This weakened and humiliating state provided a situation that made it easy for the colonizers to impose their own cultural mores and values on these colonies.

The colonized Asians and Pacific Islanders eventually began to adopt the values of their colonizers. To survive and improve their economic positions, it became necessary to adopt behavior acceptable to the white rulers who owned the means of production. Our people acquired a colonized mentality, accepting an inferior status while striving to be like the whites. Our men, especially, were encouraged to gain skills and to advance--but only to a certain level, one that would not threaten the authority of the white colonizers. In this case, the upper class is synonymous with the white race, and the lower class is equivalent to the yellow race.

For Asian-Pacific people who have lived under colonial domination and then emigrated from their native lands, it is easy to see how they can continue to accept their fate as workers struggling to survive and get ahead, not questioning the authority of the few who control the economic structure. Added to these conditions are the male chauvinistic practices which have been further strengthened, suppressing women that much more. With each upheaval, the social conventions and traditions of the home became more important than ever.

Inner Cities

Many features of colonization are found in our Manilatowns, Little Tokyos, and Chinatowns. Unemployment and underemployment are very high. Opportunities for escape and advancement are few. Our labor is exploited, we are excluded from any positions of real power, our inferior status is intensified. This aspect of life in the United States is similar to the predicament Asian-Pacific immigrants left. Asian-Pacific-Americans who grew up in these inner cities feel trapped. Their desire is to leave this situation for better conditions they believe exist elsewhere, not to stay and work for changes in these stifling enclaves.

Under these economic conditions, awareness of the plight of women is easily lost. The further down people are, the less they are apt to challenge the power structure, unless their very survival is at stake, in which case they have nothing to lose, or unless they are exposed to new ideas and can see the possibility of action that could lead to basic changes. Women in the inner cities will be more likely to join in efforts that will improve the economic conditions of their families.

Thus, like her white counterpart, by and large it is the affluent Asian-Pacific-American woman who first began to participate in activities of the women's liberation movement. However, one must contend with the fact that equal political, educational, and civil rights for women will not produce women's equality. Until there are basic changes in the economic structure (e.g., work in the home is equated with work outside), inequality will continue. Only people, women and men, can produce these changes. The task--to evoke this awareness and sensitivity among the general population and also to motivate them to act and bring about these changes--has yet to be accomplished.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

Today, Asian-Pacific-American women are becoming more active in various liberation movements. However, they tend to join groups that advocate improved conditions for people of their own ethnicity. Some have become members of workers' organizations. A growing number are becoming involved with feminist causes, but they have mostly been within their own ethnic groups rather than in the majority society.

In order to remove some of the impediments to organizing by Asian-Pacific-American women, a great deal more needs to be known about their past conditions and activities. In addition, much work needs to be done to increase the level of awareness among Asian-Pacific-American women about their plight and to assist them in exploring methods, including organizing, to improve their status.

Possible Areas of Research

- To facilitate an organizing effort among Asian-Pacific-American women, compile data for a composite profile of this group: (a) age, (b) geography, (c) income, (d) employment status, (e) location of childhood, (f) history of mobility.
- To learn about our own past efforts and to learn from those experiences, as well as to gain a better sense of ourselves, we need to discover what our predecessors did: (a) Angel Island, (b) workers, (c) World War II concentration camps, (d) professional women (e) students, (f) Asian-Pacific women in feminist movements of the dominant society.
- To determine the current state of the position of Asian-Pacific women toward liberation, conduct a survey to ascertain their attitudes about the women's liberation movement and their willingness to participate in its activities.
- Identify potential groups/categories of women to organize and determine the manner in which these groups can be supported (e.g., funding, education, liaisons with other groups, etc.).

In conducting research of this type, it is essential that the researchers consciously recognize that the main purpose of this research is to work toward alleviating oppressive conditions. The discovery of new knowledge must take a secondary role, for while it may be basic to the advance of humankind in the long run, it is a luxury paid for by the thousands who suffer because of such diverted efforts.

ASIAN WOMEN IN PROFESSIONAL HEALTH SCHOOLS, WITH EMPHASIS ON NURSING

Fe V. Loo

INTRODUCTION

The nursing profession has reached a pivotal point in its existence. Its survival as a vital component of the health profession crucially depends on whether the majority of nurses decide in favor of excellence or obsolescence. The nursing profession has placed serious responsibilities on its faculty to prepare nursing practitioners who have the vision and courage for creative and innovative capabilities. The nurse of the seventies is expected to be an agent of change and one who possesses leadership skills.

In Extending the Scope of Nursing Practice (Egeberg, Pesch, and Abdellah 1971) it was noted that the professional nurse must assume a substantial role in the provision of health services. The report further expressed the need to extend the scope of nursing practice to achieve the goal of equal access to health services for all citizens. According to Schlotfeldt (1972), a member of the National Advisory Council of Health Services, DHEW, the goal of nursing as a field of professional endeavor is health care, and nurses must be "proficient in sustaining, supporting, comforting and helping persons during periods of infirmity, deprivation, disfigurement, changes in life style, crises, and periods of development and decline" (p. 246). However, for the past few decades, professional organizations representing the health disciplines and the Federal Government have been more involved in conducting studies relevant to the educational preparation of the professional nurse, to various statistics on the number of nurses, and to employment.

The 1974-75 edition of Facts About Nursing, published by the American Nurses' Association (1976), states:

> The demand for health services has continued to increase through this decade as a result of continued population growth, the increasing availability of public and private health insurance coverage, advances in the science of health care and growing consumer involvement. This demand has broad implications for those involved in the planning, organization, and delivery of the Nation's health services. The successful functioning of any health services delivery system requires sufficient manpower and adequate facilities (p. 1).

According to the Division of Nursing of the Public Health Services, 1.1 million nurses will be needed by 1980. Various studies and current supply estimates indicate that about 28 percent more registered nurses will be required to meet future needs.

The National League for Nursing's (NLN) selected findings on the career patterns of nurses show that 68 percent of the 6,028 nurses studied were employed in nursing 5 years after graduation and only 46 percent were employed full time.

In 1974, the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that 5,358 professional nurses and medical trainees were admitted to the country as immigrants. Asia accounted for 65 percent of this total number; most of these nurses came from the Philippines, Korea, or India.

In a 4-year study of the present and future supply of registered nurses, Altman (1975) reported that a greater proportion of the future stock of nurses will come from foreign countries. According to Altman, the number of foreign-trained nurses being licensed in the United States, which averaged 6.1 percent of the output of United States schools in 1960 and 10.0 percent in 1967, will grow to 16.4 percent by 1980. In recent years, the number of foreign nurse graduates seeking employment in the United States has increased significantly. Because these nurses come from differing educational and cultural backgrounds they encounter multifaceted problems in their adjustment to professional nursing practice in this country.

The needs and problems of the international professional nurse as they relate to nursing practice in this country will be the major focus of discussion in this paper. Because of the writer's educational perspectives and cultural background and her familiarity with the educational systems in the Far East, the recommendations will be meaningful and relevant only to the foreign nurse graduates coming from the Philippines, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, Thailand, and Indonesia.

Briefly, this presentation comprises a perusal of related literature and current studies on the subject, followed by a summary and recommendations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In 1956, the American Nurses' Foundation of the American Nurses' Association (ANA) participated in the Exchange of Professional Persons as a medium for both strengthening intercultural understanding and enriching world health service. This was not an academic exchange, but instead it mainly involved hospital work. The Exchange Visitor Program, sponsored by the ANA, had two major objectives: to offer technical knowledge and to create understanding between countries.

As currently practiced, the Exchange Visitor Program for nurses is open to anyone who wants to come to the United States as a staff nurse at her personal expense, regardless of her qualifications or competence as a nurse. There are thousands of nurses from abroad who are in the United States because of this program, in addition to nurses who come as immigrants or on other types of visas.

In the 5-year project of the ANA, the association arranged for the exchangees to be placed in American hospitals all over the country. The exchangees were to stay in the United States between 18 months and 2 years. Many of them went back to their countries and then returned to America as immigrants, but several of the exchangees stayed on.

According to Broadhurst, the ANA program's director (1962), the foreign graduate nurses under the Exchange Visitor Program came to the United States in such large numbers that numerous pressing problems were created. Furthermore, she noted that whether foreign nurses enjoy their nursing and cultural experiences and satisfy their intellectual goals depends greatly on the community where the hospital is located; genuine interest in them by the nursing administrative and staff personnel; the degree of acceptance and support they receive; the available facilities; and finally, on their own initiative and maturity.

At Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center in New York City, the exchange program is based on the philosophy that in an ever-contracting world it is imperative that the people of all countries explore possible approaches to cross-cultural understanding and to cultivating bonds that transcend ethnic or religious boundaries. Among the main objectives of the program are the following:

> To develop an interest in the mutual sharing of ideas relating to the profession of nursing, in the hope that each nurse, foreign and American, can profit from the knowledge and experience of the other.
>
> To develop an increasing awareness and appreciation of the other's culture . . . as a precursor to closer international understanding (Rayner and Jones 1972, p. 141).

Between 1966 and 1972, 176 nurses from 28 countries participated in the program. Rayner and Jones observed that as teaching staff members they have identified predictable difficulties that the exchange nurses encounter in joining the program: (1) language, (2) role adaptation, and (3) cultural factors other than language. According to Rayner and Jones, even nurses from English-speaking countries are periodically at a loss when faced with American accents or colloquial expressions. Language fluency was the greatest indicator of adjustment to the program and to the country.

Human beings are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of communication for a given society. Sapir (1956) succinctly observed: "It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language . . . . The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group . . . ." (p. 46).

Language releases and restricts man. Ethnocentrism seems a factor when the American nurse voices her frustration by asking, "Why can't 'they' speak English better?" There is often a disregard of or lack of appreciation for the effort required to achieve a level of language facility. Rayner and Jones noted that the attitude is related to the fact that most Americans have very little experience in language training themselves.

When an exchange visitor is unable to express herself clearly, her own feelings of self-worth are affected. Perusal of the literature substantiates the point that a great number of nurses fall into the pattern of thinking of themselves as being inferior and less intelligent or less competent than others.

> It . . . seemed to us that as the language hurdle is surmounted not only is communication of ideas easier but expression of personality is affected. People tend to show initiative, a sense of humor, to express their opinions and in general handle other frustrations better. It is as if the language situation is a key to other aspects of their experience. As they see for themselves that their language ability has improved there is a corresponding positive correlation in other areas (Rayner and Jones 1972, p. 142).

Erikson (1950) wrote that one's personal identity is based on two simultaneous observations: perception of one's identical likenesses in others and the awareness of the fact that others recognize each other's similarities. Studies indicated that the type of recognition which an exchange nurse receives from others is an important determinant in her adapting to changed role expectations. Furthermore, the degree of strangeness she feels and the change demanded for her role adaptation are greatly dependent upon the country from which she comes. Rayner et al. (1972) wrote:

> Being a teaching institution, our Medical Center attracts young American nurses from all parts of the United States. Many of them are from small communities and small hospitals where their exposure to people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds has been limited. They, like the exchange visitor, have a great deal of adjustment to make both professionally and personally. You might expect, then, that they would be better able to identify with the exchange visitor and be of assistance to her. There are times when this is the case. However, for the innumerable times it is not it seems to be because the American nurse, in trying to cope with her own newness and inexperience, has little psychic energy left to give to others. This is even more profound when the other is "different."

> therefore, requiring more effort on her part to know, understand and accept (p. 143).

Much of the frustration of foreign nurses stems from their genuine effort to prove themselves to their colleagues, only to be thwarted by legal limitations, language difficulty, and lack of appreciation, acceptance, and respect of their uniqueness and worth as individuals.

Davitz et al. (1976) summarized the major problems that foreign nurse graduates encountered in their adjustment to the American culture and health care delivery system as follows: (1) emphasis on bedside nursing; (2) language; (3) loyalty and respect; (4) clinical and administrative roles; and (5) attitudinal differences. The 95 women nurses sampled in the survey were from Colombia, England, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Ireland, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Nigeria, Philippines, Taiwan, Thailand, Uruguay, Venezuela, Dominican Republic, Granada, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico. Excerpts of their comments are reproduced below, for they succinctly speak of their feelings, value systems, perceptions, and role expectations (Davitz et al. 1976, pp. 231-239):

> A British nurse felt that the technical emphasis in America led to a mechanical approach toward patients. "Human contact and real sincere interest seem to be missing. For example, I've noticed that American nurses use very little touching. In England, we depended on simple little gestures like holding someone's hand to give a bit of moral support."
>
> Several foreign nurses believed that in the American system slogans such as : "Hurry up; get it done quickly" are valued. These attitudes, they felt, are not conducive to a nurse lingering at the bedside of one patient.
>
> A Jamaican nurse stated: "Anyone with a strange accent is considered different. Accents seem to disturb people. It is true that I am not understood by some patients and staff, and I have trouble understanding them."
>
> A Canadian nurse stated: "At first the way people talked overwhelmed me. They were speaking my native language, English, but I had great difficulty understanding what was being said by some people."
>
> As a British nurse remarked: "I know many times what I say is misinterpreted simply because the word or phrase I use has a different meaning in England than it does in the U.S."
>
> A nurse from Taiwan wrote: "I am looked down upon because of my English. It is hurtful. Staff will talk about me in front of my face as if I do not exist. They think I do not understand."

According to many of the foreign nurses, American nurses may lack pride, loyalty, and a sense of identification with specific hospitals or institutions where they are employed. One nurse summed this attitude up as follows: "At home we felt close to the place where we worked. Nurses stayed overtime; we were happy to work extra hours if necessary. It wasn't only money that made us feel that way. We felt a sense of duty and responsibility to a hospital which helped us earn our daily bread."

. . . Some foreign nurses stated they feel frustrated and deflated. A British nurse said, "I was trained to do many more things than I am allowed to do in this country. I never felt inferior as a nurse. I felt nurses were on an equal professional level with doctors. Here I feel doctors have all the rights and responsibilities, and I am only a subordinate."

According to a nurse from India, it was difficult for her to keep up with the shifting policies in the institution where she worked. "Overnight and apparently without reason a policy or procedure changes. Notices come around every day. I try hard to keep up with the new rules." She gave as an example one week when the whole system of transporting patients for tests was revised three times.

A large number of foreign nurses expressed amazement at the amount of paper work expected from the nursing staff. "I never thought I would have to write for hours. Some days I seem to spend more time writing than I do working or talking to patients," commented a Japanese nurse. Several nurses believed that paper work demands detract from the kind of professional nursing they want to perform.

"At home (malpractice suit) was not a problem. Patients never threatened to sue a hospital or a nurse. We did not worry about such things."

Just as the foreigners' matter-of-fact acceptance of death had raised comments, so American acceptance and tolerance of certain types of illnesses and conditions creates problems for some foreign nurses. For instance, a Philippine nurse noted that "American attitudes toward drugs, sex, and abortion were quite unacceptable to me. It was hard for me to get used to spending much time on these kinds of patients when others needed my services." On the other hand, a Thai nurse indicated that it had been a great learning experience for her to "overcome my prejudices. I have tried hard to accept many kinds of patients (alcoholics, drug addicts, and so on) as they are."

A Taiwanese nurse noted: "I feel so sorry for old sick people. So many old people live alone in America. Their children don't want them. It is sad to see no respect for old people."

Davitz et al. observed that problems which shocked foreign nurses were frequently interpreted different by Americans. In addition, behavior that foreign nurses valued and found natural in themselves was often viewed not so favorably by their American colleagues. To illustrate the point, some excerpts of the American nurses' reactions to the foreign nurse graduates' observations or comments are described below (Davitz et al., p. 240):

> One factor which concerned many American nurses was the unfavorable comparisons many foreign nurses were always making between their homelands and America. "I find I get tired hearing 'In my country we do it this way.' I feel like saying sometimes, 'If it's so much better in your country, why are you here?'"
>
> There was considerable disagreement among American nurses regarding the conclusions of foreign nurses about institutional identification. A number of American nurses maintained that whether a nurse strongly identifies with her employing hospital depends very much on where she is working. They agreed that in the large city hospitals where many of the foreign nurses were employed, it might be true that the staff weren't strongly identified with the institutions.
>
> In the opinion of American nurses the specific attitudinal differences could at times cause more strain than any of the other problems such as language, administrative concerns, or different conceptions of nursing role.
>
> A number of American nurses strongly disagreed with the view of the foreign nurses regarding the dependent role of the nurse in America. "It depends on role definition," maintained one American nurse.

Almost without exception American nurses commented that stresses in interpersonal relationships arose because of communication problems. They noted that a great number of overseas nurses have difficulty coping with current procedures, and their unwillingness to admit that they lack knowledge and skills to operate some equipment intensifies the problem. Many American nurses had observed the difficulties the foreign nurses experienced in understanding patients from different ethnic backgrounds. Accents were difficult to understand, but semantic differences and perceptual interpretations of terms added dimensions to the problem of communication.

Many American nurses strongly agree that foreign nurse graduates do not fully understand the importance of documentation because of legal concerns. But almost all of them commented that foreign nurses have excellent bedside skills, and their devotion to their work is admirable.

In summary, Davitz et al. reported that understanding the nature of the problems faced by foreign nurse graduates can go far towards solving them. According to Davitz et al. all the nurses who participated in the project stressed the need for understanding on both sides and jointly expressed great enthusiasm and concern in exploring the differences.

> The reactions of both the foreign and American nurses dramatically illustrate the importance of one's perspective in viewing any situation. The foreign and American nurses talked about essentially the same problems, but their perspectives and consequently their interpretations differed. Many of the nurses' comments reflected two major factors contributing to conflict between the two groups: first, the role of the nurse in the health care delivery system of a particular country; and second, broader cultural differences between the United States and other countries (Davitz et al. 1976, p. 242).

The authors suggested that an increase in mutual understanding is most likely to facilitate a foreign nurse graduate's adaptation to the pluralistic American culture, value system, and changed role expectations, as well as to improve nursing practice by assisting both foreign and American nurses to know and accept each other and apply themselves more effectively.

A review of the literature substantiates the point that definitions of professional nursing practice in various countries bring about differences in professional expectations and responsibilities associated with the nurse's role.

In an international seminar (1970) attended by delegates from 22 national nurses' associations and other international organizations, legislation that affects the nursing profession was the focus of discussion. Because of the high mobility of nurses seeking employment from one country to another, the problem of registering an immigrant to practice nursing in a foreign country was a major concern of the participants. The recommendation from the seminar was the need for research on the following problem areas: (1) assessment of nursing education standards between countries of differing cultures; (2) an international definition of nursing; (3) the nurse's functions and standards for nursing practice; and (4) guidelines to evaluate qualifications or educational credentials to practice nursing in a foreign country.

In reexamining the goals and direction of nursing education in developing nations, Pratt (1970) wrote:

> In the eagerness to move with the rest of the world, developing countries set themselves the health goals and standards of countries the economy, culture, disease pattern and the history of the development of health services of which are entirely different from their own. They forget that improvement of standards should occur as quickly as possible, but only in step with the progressive increase in resources . . . . If pushed ahead beyond the resources of the country, only a few will benefit from such services while the majority will suffer (p. 2).

According to Fang, the director of the Western Pacific Regional Office, World Health Organization (WHO), many changes have taken place in the nursing profession in the last decades, not only in the Philippines, but in other countries as well. Fang believes that recent curriculum innovations in nursing education programs will continue.

Romulo, in a seminar on the "Accreditation of Philippine Schools and Colleges of Nursing," identified the major dilemma of maintaining higher standards for nursing education in these terms:

> When I assumed . . . (the position of) the Secretary of Education I was rather appalled by the great number of educational institutions (which are still increasing) and the small number of personnel that supervised these schools. There are only two . . . supervisors in the Bureau of Private Schools to oversee the more than 42 private nursing schools.
>
> We must devise procedures to cope with the trend of ever-increasing numbers of educational institutions . . . . This means the adoption of administrative innovations which allow, and require, self-examination and self-improvement by private institutions (1968, p. 18).

The system of nursing education in the Philippines is similar to that of the United States, but the problems are different. Unlike in the United States or the United Kingdom, nursing programs in the Philippines have no problems of recruitment. The main problem is that of weeding out.

Leo noted that in 1973, the Philippines had 50 nursing schools, 42 of which were private and 8 public. The 42 private schools of nursing had an enrollment of more than 11,000 students and were graduating more than 2,000 every year, 95 percent of whom passed the Board of Examinations for nursing practice. From the 95 percent of nursing manpower, more than 20 percent went abroad.

Pauman's study (1972) on 11 baccalaureate programs out of the 18 colleges of nursing in the Philippines concluded that there was a need for prepared faculty, as well as for clinical facilities and teaching resources.

The changing social and economic conditions in the developing countries of Asia are exerting a profound influence on the nursing profession. Many factors, such as the expansion and improvement of health services, have increased the demand for highly qualified nurses--a condition which directly affects the quality of nursing education.

For the last decade, problems and concerns have intensified for the significantly increasing numbers of nurses from foreign countries; they are coming to the United States unqualified for the State license to practice nursing. In earlier years, the immigration of nurses was on a smaller scale, and they came largely from the English-speaking countries where in cultural orientation and educational preparation were comparable to those of this country. Currently, and partly due to changes in immigration laws, greater numbers of nurses are coming as immigrants from non-English-speaking countries and developing nations whose cultures, language, and educational systems are very different from those of the United States.

Presently, all State Boards of Nursing (SBN) are requiring all foreign nurse applicants for licensure to take and pass the State Board Test Pool Examination (SBTPE), as is required of all graduates from nursing schools in the United States. In previous years, graduates of foreign schools of nursing could obtain a license through endorsement of satisfactory credentials, a practice which has been discontinued. With the new policy, the failure rate among the foreign nurse graduates is higher than 50 percent.

In May 1976, the two major nursing organizations, the National League for Nursing (NLN) and the American Nurses' Association, had a joint meeting with Jessie Scott, Director, DHEW, Division of Nursing, to discuss the project for development of pre-immigration screening of foreign nurses. The proposed schedule to put the screening program in operation will take effect by 1977. The initial cost of the project is estimated at $100,000, an investment to be shared by the ANA, NLN, and the Division of Nursing. A committee is now searching for a director of the project, titled the Commission on Graduates of Foreign Schools of Nursing.

The Commission's goal is to develop and conduct a pre-immigration program to evaluate credentials and to assess nursing and English language proficiency to provide reasonable assurance that nurses trained in foreign countries will be eligible for admission to the State licensing examination. This project was prompted by the Government's concern about the increasing numbers of nurses entering the United States for employment, but failing to qualify for State licensure.

According to the Report of Contract,[1] Division of Nursing, United States Public Health Service (1975), many of the nurses cannot even be admitted to the examination until deficiencies in their pre-nursing and nursing education have been eliminated. In the same report, the language problem is noted to be a great factor in State Board Examination failure. The United States Department of Labor, the Department of State, and the

Immigration and Naturalization Service have expressed great concern regarding the continuing needs of foreign nurses who are unable to qualify for licensure.

The licensure of nurses is a prerogative of individual States in the United States. Nursing is one of the few professions which enjoys the privilege and benefits of standardized examinations for licensure nationwide. State licensure for nursing practice has been established to protect citizens from unqualified practitioners. To employ nurses who are unable to meet the licensure requirements is a violation of the public trust and of the law. As the Report of Contract noted:

> The situation has been further complicated by the presence of profitmaking recruiters who arrange with employers to supply nurses for their staffs. These agencies advertise their services to U.S. employers and to nurses in foreign countries, doing the work of recruiting, "screening," assembling the required documents, and making travel arrangements, sometimes advancing funds to the nurses for these services and fares. It has been seen that their procedures have at best met only the barest minimum of requirements, and at worst have allowed outright misrepresentation of what the nurse should expect in terms of her ability to practice as a registered nurse in this country.
>
> Once the nurses are in this country, the employers who petitioned for their admission are understandably reluctant to deprive these nurses of a livelihood and to distrub their staffing arrangements when the nurses fail to secure the RN license. They continue in employment, often at a lower professional status and salary, a situation that has led to discouragement and disillusionment on the part of foreign nurses, and to a degree of exploitation of their services.

At a meeting arranged by the Division of Nursing with officials of agencies and organizations concerned with immigration of nurses, as well as other health care personnel, the representatives of the Immigration and Naturalization Service expressed the hope that DHEW would be in a position to assist INS with the problem. They recommended that a pre-immigration examination be established for graduates of foreign nursing schools similar to that now offered to foreign medical graduates. It was suggested that a certificate from such an examination would serve as a requirement for granting a visa, and would also be appropriate as one criterion to determine preference status for immigration.

Subsequent to this meeting, the Division of Nursing carried out extensive exploration with the nursing organizations and the nurse licensing officials and with other organizations and agencies concerned with immigration of nurses. From these investigations it was clear that (1) there was uniform support for the idea of establishing a pre-immigration examination for potential nurse immigrants, and that (2) an examination at a level of difficulty equal to the State Board Examinations, testing both nursing knowledge and English language proficiency, would do much to insure that nurse immigrants would qualify to enter the licensing process in this country.

The Division of Nursing then entered into a contract with Pace University, New York City, to investigate all aspects of establishing such an examination, and to set forth a complete plan of action for its realization. Pace University has extensive English language and remedial services for students from foreign countries. Particularly, with partial funding from the New York Education Department, Division of Nursing Education, Pace has formed a Foreign Nurse Center, offering review courses in nursing as well as English language training. Since the program began an estimated 2,400 foreign nurse graduates have been enrolled.

The broad purpose of the contract was to develop a plan for establishment of all organizational and procedural aspects of a method to insure that graduates of foreign nursing schools would be able to meet State requirements for registered nurse licensure.

The objectives to be met under the contract were: (1) the development of all relevant information on the question of nurse immigration to the United States and the possibility of establishing a pre-immigration examination to lay the groundwork for recommendations; and (2) the development of a complete plan of action for setting up pre-immigration screening procedures for nurses (USPHS, pp. 2, 3).

Tables 1 through 4 summarize information about immigrant nurses.

For discussion of the purposes, objectives, plan for implementation, funding, and other details of the "Commission on Graduates of Foreign Nursing Schools," refer to the publication, Report of Contract (Development of a Plan for Establishment of all Organizational and Procedural Aspects of a Method to Insure that Foreign Nurse Graduates Will be Able to Meet State Requirements for Registered Nurse Licensure), Director of Nursing, USPHS, 1975, USPHS Contract No. 1-N4-44144 (unpublished report).

In a study, The Survey of Foreign Nurse Graduates Applications for Registered Nurse Licensure, 1970-1973, by the American Nurses' Association (1976) under contract to the Division of Nursing, Public Health Services, it was noted that during the survey years (1970-1972), a total of 43,430 foreign nurse graduates (FNG's) made initial applications in the States. NOTE: The number of applications should not be equated with the number of persons, since many FNG's made applications in more than one State.

TABLE 1

NURSES ADMITTED TO THE U.S.
1969-1973

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	Total 1969-1973
Immigrant nurses*						
Total admitted	5,466	4,934	6,442	6,851	6,335	30,028
Beneficiaries of occupational preference - total	1,078	1,164	1,630	1,857	1,374	7,103
Third preference						
Admissions	617	728	984	961	823	4,113
Adjustments	109	123	276	527	433	1,468
Sixth preference						
Admissions	279	261	262	167	40	1,009
Adjustments	73	52	108	202	78	513
All others	4,388	3,770	4,812	4,994	4,961	22,925
Nonimmigrant nurses**						
Total admitted	1,898	1,159	1,321	1,889	3,133	9,400
Distinguished merit and ability	3	7	716	1,486	2,673	4,885
Other temporary	16	30	19	17	22	104
Trainees	8	13	14	4	12	51
Exchange visitors	1,871	1,109	567	382	424	4,353
Transferees	-	-	5	-	2	7
Total nurses admitted	7,364	6,093	7,763	8,740	9,468	38,428

*Source: Table 8A, Annual Reports, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

**Source: Table 16B, Annual Reports, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

TABLE 2

PROFESSIONAL NURSES ADMITTED AS IMMIGRANTS BY REGION AND COUNTRY* OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE, FY 1971 AND FY 1972

	1971	1972
All countries	6,363	6,789
Europe	1,230	1,145
Germany	141	105
Ireland	124	168
United Kingdom	630	552
Other	335	320
Asia	2,969	3,811
Taiwan	109	171
India	169	536
Korea	526	736
Philippines	1,549	1,580
Thailand	343	438
Other	273	350
Africa	96	230
Oceania	84	99
North and Central America	1,741	1,323
Canada	1,021	773
Jamaica	245	186
Trinidad & Tobago	124	87
Other	331	277
South America	263	181
Guyana	142	74
Other	121	107

*Countries of Last Permanent Residence of 100 or more entrants in either year are listed separately.

Source: Annual Reports of Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice.

TABLE 3

PROFESSIONAL NURSES ENTERING U.S. AS NONIMMIGRANT ALIENS BY VISA CATEGORY AND BY REGION AND COUNTRY* OF LAST PERMANENT RESIDENCE, FY 1972 AND FY 1973

	1972			1973		
Visa type	H	J	H&J	H	J	H&J
All countries	1,507	382	1,889	2,707	424	3,131
Europe	318	44	362	373	36	409
Ireland	102	5	107	105	-	105
United Kingdom	198	5	203	248	9	257
Other	18	34	52	20	27	47
Asia	843	285	1,128	1,909	302	2,211
India	10	14	24	12	16	28
Japan	25	7	32	-	10	10
Korea	58	6	64	44	4	48
Philippines	728	240	968	1,824	252	2,076
Other	22	18	40	29	20	49
Africa	1	5	6	11	18	29
Oceania	24	4	28	82	6	88
Australia	23	4	27	71	5	76
Other	1	-	1	11	1	12
North and Central America	318	28	346	324	35	359
Canada	281	7	288	248	1	249
Jamaica	10	5	15	22	3	25
Other	27	16	43	54	31	85
South America	3	16	19	8	27	35

*Countries of Last Permanent Residence of 20 or more entrants in either year are listed separately.

Source: Annual Reports of Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice.

TABLE 4

NURSES ADMITTED TO THE U.S.
1969-1975

	Total 1969-1973	1974	1975	Total 1969-1975
Immigrant nurses*				
Total admitted	30,028	5,331	6,131	41,490
Beneficiaries of occupational preference--total	7,103	2,137	2,556	11,796
Third preference				
Admissions	4,113	1,688	1,980	7,781
Adjustments	1,468	355	451	2,274
Sixth preference				
Admissions	1,009	32	59	1,100
Adjustments	513	62	66	641
All others	22,925	3,194	3,575	29.694
Noninmigrant nurses**				
Total admitted	9,400	2,580	2,329	14,309
Distinguished merit and ability	4,885	2,096	2,084	9,065
Exchange visitors	4,353	313	213	4,879
Trainees	51	54	16	121
Other temporary	104	63	6	173
Transferees	7	54	10	71
Total nurses admitted	38,428	7,911	8,460	55,768

*Source: Table 8A, Annual Reports, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

**Source: Table 16B, Annual Reports, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The main purpose of the study was to provide information on: (1) number and characteristics (including country of education); (2) number and characteristics of FNG's who fail to achieve licensure and their educational deficiencies; (3) availability and effectiveness of remedial courses and their utilization by FNG's; (4) number of FNG's granted temporary permits to practice, pending licensure; and (5) an analysis of the State Nurse Practice Act provisions applying to foreign nurse graduates, and a summary of the immigration laws and regulations applying to foreign nurses.[2]

Of the 49 State Boards of Nursing responding to the survey, 75 percent of the applications were to New York, Michigan, California, Illinois, and New Jersey. From the 49 respondents, 8 States were chosen for detailed on-site analysis because of their high number of FNG applications and greater availability of records: New York, Michigan, California, Illinois, New Jersey, Louisiana, Texas, and Massachusetts. The years 1971-1973 were used for the detailed study, and graduates of nursing schools in 84 countries were represented in the sample population.

Tables 5 and 6 show some of the important information gained by the survey.

TABLE 5

TOTAL NURSES ADMITTED TO U.S.
AS A PERCENT OF GRADUATIONS FROM
U.S. SCHOOLS OF NURSING, 1969 TO 1975

Year	Total graduations, basic programs, U.S. nursing schools*	Total nurses admitted to U.S., immigrant and nonimmigrant**	Percent
1969	42,196	7,364	17.5
1970	43,639	6,093	14.0
1971	47,001	7,763	16.5
1972	51,784	8,940	17.3
1973	59,427	9,468	15.9
1974	67,628	7,911	11.7
1975	74,536	8,460	11.3

*Excludes Guam, Puerto Rico, and Virgin Islands.
**Includes permanent and temporary resident aliens.

Source: NLN State-Approved Schools of Nursing--R.N.--New York, The League, Annual editions, 1970 to 1975. Also unpublished data.

TABLE 6

STATES RECEIVING LARGE NUMBERS OF FNG APPLICATIONS FOR LICENSURE DURING 1970-1972

State	Number of FNG applications for licensure
New York	15,593*
Michigan	7,716*
California	4,922
Illinois	2,709**
New Jersey	2,271
Subtotal for 5 states	33,211
All other states	10,219
Total	43,430

*Estimates based on average ratio of FNG applications to FNG endorsements.
**Estimate extrapolated from 2-year total.

Source: SBN Questionnaire Responses.

Table 7 shows the tabulation of clusters of countries educating the large numbers of FNG's who applied for licensure to the United States between 1970 and 1972. It is important to note that the total numbers are relatively small because the Boards were unable to provide a breakdown, by country, of nursing education. Data indicated that nurses from the Philippines filed the largest number of applications, followed by those from the Americas, the British Isles, and Korea. But during the 3-year period of the study, the Boards of Nursing reported that 20,485 licenses were issued to FNG's, either by examination or endorsement. New York, Michigan, and California accounted for over 80 percent of the FNG's licensed by endorsements.

TABLE 7

CLUSTERS OF COUNTRIES EDUCATING LARGE NUMBERS OF FNG's WHO APPLIED FOR LICENSURE DURING 1970-1972

Cluster of countries of nursing education	Number of FNG applications for licensure
Philippines	3,494
Americas	1,774
British Isles	1,028
Korea	532
Subtotal	6,828
All other countries	1,567
Total	8,395

Source: SBN Questionnaire Responses.

Table 8 is the tabulation of clusters of countries educating the large numbers of foreign nurses who were licensed by endorsements. According to the study (ANA 1976), Filipinos, together with FNG's from the Americas, British Isles, and Korea, totaled almost 90 percent of all endorsements.

Table 9 indicates the pass rate of FNG's by the 8 States that recorded the largest number of applicants who took the State Board Test Pool Examination (SBTPE) from July 1972 to February 1974. (SBTPE's are currently given twice a year, July and February, in every State.)

The term "Pass Rate" as used in the study (ANA 1976) refers to the percent of FNG's who passed the SBTPE in the 20-month survey period. Furthermore, it should be noted that one FNG who took the SBTPE five times and passed the test the last time is recorded as one who passed; and an FNG who took and failed the SBTPE three times is recorded as one who failed. Therefore, the pass rate is not the percent of FNG's who pass it the first (or second) time they take it. The pass rate for FNG's in the 8 States is 50.9 percent, although the rating varies significantly from State to State. The percent of FNG's who pass the SBTPE the first time they take it is 18.5 percent.

The pass rate reported in the State Boards of Nursing Questionnaire for FNG's taking the SBTPE was very low in comparison to total nurses who passed the examination. An average of 23 percent of FNG's passed their initial SBTPE (ANA 1976). In 1970-1971, as published in Facts About Nursing, 1970-1971 (ANA 1972), the State Boards of Nursing report that 83 percent of all nurses who took the SBTPE for the first time in 1970, both United States educated and foreign nurse graduates, were successful.

Table 10 indicates the pass rate by clusters of countries where the FNG's received their basic nursing education.

According to the ANA, the two major educational needs of foreign nurse graduates who are seeking licensure are: (1) education to satisfy a deficiency in their basic nursing program; and (2) review courses to refresh their knowledge and orientation programs about professional nursing practice in this country. In addition, problems of language, objective test style, and cultural differences also were reported.

TABLE 8

CLUSTERS OF COUNTRIES EDUCATING
LARGE NUMBERS OF FNG's WHO WERE ENDORSED

Cluster of countries of nursing education	Number of endorsements during 1970-1972
Philippines	6,264
Americas	3,608
British Isles	2,164
Korea	575
Subtotal	12,593
All other countries	1,840
Total	14,433

Source: SBN Questionnaire Responses.

TABLE 9

PASS RATE BY STATE

Number of FNG's taking the SBTPE
July 1972-February 1974*

State	Passed	Failed	Total	Pass Rate
California	1,310	1,368	2,678	48.9
Illinois	1,330	1,269	2,599	51.2
Louisiana	145	172	317	45.7
Massachusetts	[illegible]	175	499	64.9
Michigan	240	304	544	44.1
New Jersey	1,205	765	1,970	61.1
New York	1,726	2,377	4,103	42.1
Texas	953	555	1,508	63.2
Total	7,233	6,985	14,218	50.9

Chi-Square = 359.4
Degree of freedom = 7
Significance level** < .00006

*Numbers taken from the lists of FNG's who had taken the SBTPE during the indicated period.

**The significance level is the probability of obtaining, by chance, a value of chi-square as large or larger than that computed. Clearly, the pass rate varies significantly from State to State.

Currently, educational opportunities for foreign nurse graduates are being offered only where the foreign graduates in an institution or locality express a need or when Board failures of nurses threaten the staffing needs of a hospital. Only a very few centers exist where courses that meet the educational needs of FNG's are continuously available. In a few States (California, Louisiana, Texas, New York, and Washington, D.C.) classes in different major nursing specialties are offered to prepare foreign nurse graduates for the State Board Examination. The program offered by Pace University is so far the most valuable in meeting the FNG's major needs in obtaining licensure to practice nursing. Nineteen other schools have some programs that provide educational opportunities for foreign nurse graduates.

TABLE 10

PASS RATE BY CLUSTER OF COUNTRIES*

Cluster of countries of basic nursing education	Pass Rate
Africa	21.9
Korea	64.1
Far East	39.9
Southeast Asia	43.9
Sub-continent	31.0
Middle East Asia	22.0
Australia and New Zealand	71.0
Philippines	60.0
British Isles	45.6
Eastern Europe	16.0
Western Europe	43.5
Americas	24.1
Unknown	19.3
Total	50.9

*Percent of FNG's taking the SBTPE between July 1972 and February 1974.

Since the completion of the survey (1970-1973), State Boards of Nursing are reporting much higher Board failure because the endorsement method of licensure and the issuance of temporary permits to practice nursing legally have been discontinued.

Table 11 indicates the number of FNG's from the Far East--Philippines, Korea, Japan, India, and Thailand--who have taken the SBTPE in any State from 1971-1976. (For 1976 it only includes the examinees who took the licensing examinations in February and does not include those taking it in July.) These particular statistical data are from a State having one of the smallest numbers of FNG's. The writer would rank this State as either 35th or 37th out of the 50 States, in comparison to the 8 big States that have been identified in the ANA study as having the largest number of FNG's applying for RN licensing examinations.

TABLE 11

FNG's FROM THE FAR EAST WHO TOOK
THE SBTPE FOR YEARS 1971-1976

Year	Number of examinees	Number who passed	Number who failed
1971	17	7	10
1972	53	7	46
1973	97	33	64
1974	34	10	24
1975	55	7	48
1976	20	3	17
Total	276	67 (24.27%)	209 (75.72%)

Source: SBN in one State.

SUMMARY

The percentage of applicants, both United States and foreign-trained nurses, who pass the RN licensing examination for the first time has decreased from 85.8 in 1965 to 81.8 in 1972 (Jones et al. 1976).

Jones et al. reported that the percent of those who retake the examination and pass also decreased from 63.3 in 1965 to 52.5 in 1972. Therefore, fewer people taking the licensing examination are being licensed to practice nursing.

In 1972, there were approximately 1.4 million nurse graduate applicants for licensure. Of these, nearly 1.1 million were licensed, and 0.8 million were active in the labor force (Jones et al. 1976).

A comparison of nurse participation rates with those of other female groups indicates that a greater percentage of nurses are employed than either the percentage of all potential women workers or of other female labor force groups (Altman 1975).

Perusal of the literature indicates that the proportion of FNG's obtaining their license in the United States between 1962-1972 has fluctuated from 7 to 17 percent of all first-time United States licenses issued, and therefore contributes significantly to the increase in the licensed stock of nurses.

The needs and problems confronting the graduates of foreign nursing schools with relationship to their adaptation to changed role expectations and professional nursing practice in this country are summarized below:

1. Educational needs to qualify for licensure, including: education to satisfy a deficiency in their basic nursing education program, courses to increase their knowledge, and orientation programs designed to meet the needs of graduates from different countries, with emphasis on professional nursing practice in this country.

2. Language--This is the most crucial area of need for graduates from both English-speaking and non-English-speaking countries.

3. Objective test style--In most foreign countries, especially in Asia, the Board Examinations are the essay or descriptive summary type.

4. Role adaptation--Language facility seems to be the key determinant to the role adaptation of foreign nurse graduates. Another crucial factor is the type of support system or recognition they receive from others within the organizational system. Interpersonal relationships and other communication problems arise as a result of changed role expectations.

5. Differences in culture and value orientation--The need for clarification of values through small group discussion merits further consideration.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In this era of accountability, the challenge for the nursing profession to assume its full share of responsibility for a quality health care delivery system to meet the consumers' expectation for better prepared practitioners is an important issue. To meet such a challenge, the need for the foreign nurse graduates to join the stock of nurses for nursing manpower resources is irreversible. The needs for nursing people in a pluralistic society like the United States transcend ethnic and national boundaries.

The writer believes that there are common frames of reference within which the American and foreign nurse graduate can build a relationship grounded in mutual concern, openness, and respect for the worth and uniqueness of every individual as well as in commitment to build a better world for all people. Furthermore, in spite of the wide diversity of the cultural and educational perspectives of the international nurse graduates, they all tend to share mutual goals, aspirations, and needs and problems, and have the courage to be better qualified practitioners.

The recommendations as presented are not free of the writer's Oriental culture heritage and deep veneration of Chinese-Philippine value systems. These are:

1. It is highly recommended that the Women's Research Program (WRP) at the National Institute of Education actively participate or collaborate with the Division of Nursing of USPHS, NLN, and ANA in funding and implementing the purposes of the Commission on Graduates of Foreign Nursing Schools.

2. WRP should offer educational resources or provide tutorial programs to prepare graduates of foreign nursing schools to pass the RN licensing examination (SBTPE). The need for ongoing programs or courses designed to meet individual ethnic (or cultural) group needs is sufficiently documented by the literature on the subject. The broad needs of FNG's encompass the educational, professional, and personal arenas. They also need related knowledge in legal dimensions of nursing practice, in the health care delivery system in American culture, and in drug problems, family structure, patterns of lifestyle, nutrition, abortions, and child care, among others.

3. There is a need for models and/or programs for cross-cultural studies for both American and international nurse graduates to reinforce the social impact of nurses internationally.

4. There should be some cooperation with the American Nurses' Foundation's International Communications Network research project. The main purpose of the network is to share research information and to work cooperatively with nursing leaders in other countries in solving mutual problems. (Lois J. Davitz, Ph. D., is the project director as of February 1976.)

5. Research studies should evaluate the effectiveness of the present educational programs for FNG's in relation to success in passing the SBTPE.

6. Programs should be provided in which foreign nurse graduates will have opportunities for intercultural exchange of ideas and concerns similar to the opportunities that foreign students have in universities or other institutions of higher learning. There also should be provision for other FNG support services, which are especially crucial during the period of adaptation to this country.

7. The nursing service administration of the hospitals where international nurses are employed must take the initiative and effort to give consideration to the need for support, encouragement, and opportunities for self-renewal.

8. More courses related to the cultural dimensions of professional nursing should be an integral component of all nursing curriculums here and abroad.

In conclusion, if in the process of adaptation to changed role expectations and the demands of professional nursing in this country a climate is created where the foreign nurse and the American nurse are willing to expose their values, attitudes, and feelings and have an opportunity to make learning a part of the self, then the far-reaching goal of international understanding will have been achieved.

NOTES

[1] USPHS, *Report of Contract*, "Development of a Plan for Establishment of all Organizational and Procedural Aspects of a Method to Insure that Foreign Nurse Graduates Will be Able to Meet State Requirements for Registered Nurse Licensure," Division of Nursing, USPHS, 1975, USPHS Contract No. 1-NU-44144 (unpublished report).

[2] American Nurses' Association, *Survey of Foreign Nurse Graduates Applications for Registered Nurse Licensure, 1970-1973* Div. of Nursing, USPHS, Contract No. 1-NU-24300, 1976, p. 2 (report in publication).

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EDUCATIONAL ALTERNATIVES FOR ASIAN-PACIFIC WOMEN

Dorothy L. Cordova

INTRODUCTION

This paper will focus on educational alternatives for Asian-Pacific women in the United States. I will identify these women and will attempt to prove that there are definite reasons to provide educational options. I will explore why these women--along with Asian-Pacific men--have been excluded from many programs of assistance designed and implemented by Federal, State, and local governments. I shall cite recent events and important dynamics occurring within the decade that have made it imperative for the United States Government to reassess the general and specific information about Asian-Pacific peoples whose research data, gathered in previous collections, are quickly becoming outdated because of statistical growth and burgeoning new problems. The unique problems of each Asian-Pacific group will be considered so that the reader will be able to comprehend why educational alternatives or innovative approaches must be provided, especially for the rapidly increasing recent immigrants and nationals in the continental United States.

This paper also examines what has been done, or is being done, by government agencies, private organizations, and educational institutions to effect essential changes. Case studies from several research projects on Asian-Pacific peoples and interviews with some women from the affected groups will be given as a basis of comparison between needed educational options and what is actually being offered.

Lastly, I will offer a number of recommendations, made by individuals and community-based Asian-Pacific organizations, all of which will provide options for educational alternatives that would alleviate present socio-economic problems of Asian-Pacific women.

REASON TO IDENTIFY CORRECTLY

It is generally acknowledged that much of the previous data on Asian-Americans and Pacific Island peoples were amassed haphazardly by data gatherers who often had little background and/or sensitivity about these racial minorities.

In 1973, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights released To Know or Not to Know, a report investigating the civil rights enforcement efforts of Federal agencies. This report showed quite graphically that Federal agencies did not catalog sufficient information on racial and ethnic minorities. Consequently, very little data were available to assess whether or not Federal programs were benefiting minority groups, and if so, to what extent. According to the report, "racial and ethnic data are essential tools with which to combat discrimination and to plan and monitor affirmative action which would remedy past racial wrongs." The report further points out that gathering and analyzing these important bits of information is "the most effective and accurate means of measuring Federal program impact on minority beneficiaries and for assuring that equal opportunity policies are working effectively."

The report defined a minority as a "group of persons distinguished by race or ethnic origin, who share common ancestry, physical characteristics, cultural background and experience and who, because of overt discrimination and institutional barriers, are denied equal access to social, economic, and political opportunities, and/or who continue to suffer the effects of past discrimination." The reader must bear this definition in mind because it will help to explain the reasons why the present employment of many immigrants--both male and female--is not equivalent to their educational attainment.

It will also give an indication as to why so many Asians have been excluded from, or not considered for, Federal programs designed to lift minorities educationally and financially.

This exclusion often comes about on account of a dearth of viable information about Asian-Pacific problems. Consequently, planners and designers of programs are able to plead that no existing data prove there is a dire need. Therefore, in their opinion, there is no reason to include Asians or Pacific Island peoples in future or existing helping programs.

Moreover, this writer has had some experience with the compilation of fresh and important information on problems facing specific Asian-Pacific groups--which the Federal Government proceeded to disregard as inconsequential because the numbers affected were miniscule when compared to the U.S. population at large. This rationale has been a source of frustration for many Asian-Pacific community workers who daily see a variety of deep-rooted problems. They don't know anyone to turn to for assistance when a problem must be resolved.

It is necessary to identify and to define the target population of this Conference and to clarify specific obstacles that prevent the Asian-Pacific woman from gaining full participation in the American tradition of socioeconomic "upward mobility."

DEFINITIONS OF ASIAN-PACIFIC PEOPLE

Within the past few years there have been positive changes in the mechanisms of categorizing the peoples of the United States according to ethnic and racial background. Anyone scanning old Federal, State, and local government records, listings, etc., would find all people categorized as White, Black, and Others.

In response to well-founded protestations, classifications were gradually adjusted to include other groups--the Spanish-surnamed, Orientals, Native Americans, and Others. The reclassification was an improvement, yet other specific and rapidly growing minorities who did not fit technically into the first three categories were still excluded. This was especially true of Filipinos, who, by virtue of their last names, would be thrust into the "Spanish surname" camp or who, because of the geographical location of the Philippines, would be considered "oriental" even when they were not "oriental" in origin or heritage. In either case, this method proved to be a great disadvantage to Filipinos who would be counted by either group, but who would rarely, if ever, benefit from any programs specifically designed for "Spanish surname" or "oriental" peoples. Furthermore, some of the other less known and excluded minorities began to assert themselves and to demand that the Government create additional classifications by which their own ethnic identity could be recognized. Consequently, a better method is used today to designate different ethnic and racial groups. The various classifications are now White, Black, Asian, Hispanic, Native American, Pacific Islanders and Others.

The Asian group encompasses Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, Koreans, Vietnamese, Cambodians, Thais, and East Indians. Although some Asian purists have the tendency to exclude East Indians, in this paper I will include information about them, whenever possible, as a matter of justice and personal preference. The Asian group also includes other people whose existence has often been ignored, the Pacific Island peoples--Samoans, Guamanians, Hawaiians, and Tongans. Thus, one sees the logic in putting together Asian-Pacific peoples in a single all-encompassing category. While this "marriage" may not be completely satisfactory to all those concerned, it is, nonetheless, the best possible union, at least for the present.

It is imperative to identify each Asian group separately and to recognize that each has unique problems and that the magnitude of their problems will be different in various parts of the Nation.

Two separate reports and studies on ethnic minorities in California and in Washington State[1] during the 1960's demonstrated different socioeconomic levels for the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in those two States. For example, although the Japanese and Chinese often ranked above the whites in educational attainment and were second and third in income, the Filipinos were usually at or near the bottom in both categories.

More recent studies indicate that although these Asian groups have experienced great demographic changes, the educational disparity among the four major Asian groups (Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean) has remained the same.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Japanese are the most numerous of Asian Americans. The 1970 United States census[2] places their population at 591,290 and, when the subsequent immigration figures[3] are added, their number is increased to 615,099 (table 1).

Chinese constitute the second largest group, with 579,970. Their numbers have been greatly increased by the large number of immigrants from Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Filipinos are presently the third numerically--562,643. A study by Canta Pian states that if immigration figures for Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos continue at the same rate, by 1980 Filipinos will be the most populous Asian group in the United States.[4]

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED

	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	Korean	Vietnamese
1970 U.S. Census	431,583	343,060	591,290	70,000	
Number of immigrants admitted					
1970	14,093	31,203	*	9,314	1,450
1971	14,417	28,471	4,457	14,297	2,038
1972	21,730	29,376	4,757	18,876	3,412
1973	21,656	30,799	5,461	22,930	4,569
1974	22,685	32,851	4,860	28,028	3,192
1975	23,427	31,751	4,274	28,362	3,039
Refugees 1975					128,705
Total population	579,970	562,643	615,099	219,835	146,405

*No numbers indicated for this year.

Koreans, fourth in number, are now the fastest growing and one of the most overlooked ethnic minorities in this country. At 219,835, their population has increased 300 percent over the 1970 census numbers. Much of this is due to the recent heavy immigration from Korea.

Cambodians and Thais were not listed as separate groups in the 1970 U.S. census; however, the Immigration and Naturalization Annual Reports give their numbers each year. Although the total number in the past 10 years may seem low, it must be remembered that there were people from each of these countries living here prior to 1965.

Immigration figures show that, within the past 10 years, 91,353 people from India applied for permanent residency in this country. Approximately 45 percent of these were classified as "professional, technical, or kindred workers."

Guamanians and Samoans constitute yet another demographic problem. It is possible to use current census counts as a basis for the Guamanians; however, it is difficult to determine the exact number of American Samoans presently in Hawaii and the continental United States. Different sources give different numbers. It is estimated that 35,000 to 45,000 Guamanians live in California. The figure given for Samoans by the same source estimates their number between 45,000 and 48,000 on the West Coast.[5]

Indochinese refugees made a most traumatic and dramatic entry into the U.S. during the spring of 1975. Within 1 month, more than 120,000 Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees were processed as "refugee parolees" into the United States.[6] Prior to this, approximately 18,000 had come as permanent residents since 1971. A more recent DHEW Task Force figure for the Indochinese refugees is 144,692.[7]

Within the past 10 years the numbers of immigrants and/or nationals from Asian and Pacific Island nations have increased greatly. Since the newcomers are usually younger people, the numbers will increase even more through inevitable births. Thus, this growth will soon make it imperative for the authorities to become aware of what is occurring and to begin to make necessary changes to meet new needs.

IMMIGRATION IMPACT

Prior to 1965 the United States immigration laws were restrictive and they prevented people from Africa, Asia, and Latin America from entering this country in significant numbers. To a certain extent, those from southern and eastern European countries were also allotted smaller quotas than the nations of northern Europe.

However, on October 3, 1965, laws regulating the flow of people to the United States were altered to allow up to 20,000 each year from the Eastern Hemisphere--Africa, Asia, and Europe--to enter this country. The effect has been rather startling (tables 2 and 3). In an article published in the fall of 1975, U.S. News and World Report pointed out that since 1965 immigration has increased by 532 percent from Asia, compared to increases of 39 percent from Latin America and 53 percent from southern and eastern Europe, and a 73 percent decrease from western Europe and Canada. During the first half of the century, the article recalled, Asians made up less than 4 percent of the total U.S. immigration. During 1964 they constituted one-third of the total number entering this country as permanent residents. The tremendous increase in immigration is having an even greater impact as it is occurring at a time when the U.S. birthrate is declining. According to U.S. News and World Report, "one new American in five is now an immigrant."[8]

Some of the impact of the immigration increases has been manifested by additional laws currently pending in Congress which directly affect recent immigrants, a recent Supreme Court decision, and a recent judgment by the Office for Civil Rights against certain school districts throughout the United States.[9]

TABLE 2

COUNTRIES SENDING THE MOST IMMIGRANTS TO THE U.S.

1965			1974		
1.	Canada	38,327	1.	Mexico	71,586
2.	Mexico	37,969	2.	Philippines	32,857
3.	United Kingdom	27,358	3.	Korea	28,028
4.	Germany	24,045	4.	Cuba	18,929
5.	Cuba	19,760	5.	China (Taiwan)	18,056
6.	Colombia	10,885	6.	Italy	15,884
7.	Italy	10,821	7.	Dominican Republic	15,680
8.	Dominican Republic	9,504	8.	India	12,779
9.	Poland	8,465	9.	Jamaica	12,408
10.	Argentina	6,124	10.	Portugal	11,302
11.	Ireland	5,463	11.	Greece	10,824
12.	Ecuador	4,392	12.	United Kingdom	10,710
13.	China (Taiwan)	4,057	13.	Canada	7,654
14.	France	4,039	14.	Trinidad and Tobago	6,516
15.	Haiti	3,609			

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports, 1965 and 1974.

TABLE 3

IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED FROM ASIA TO THE UNITED STATES
(Years ending June 30, 1965 through 1975)

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
China & Taiwan	4,057	13,736	19,741	12,738	15,440	14,093	14,417	17,339	17,297	18,056	18,536
Hong Kong	712	3,872	5,355	3,696	5,453	3,205	4,391	4,359	4,629	4,629	4,891
India	582	2,458	4,642	4,682	5,963	10,114	14,310	16,926	13,124	12,779	15,773
Japan	3,180	3,394	3,946	3,613	3,957	4,485	4,457	4,757	5,461	4,860	4,274
Korea	2,165	2,492	3,956	3,811	6,045	9,314	14,297	18,876	22,930	28,028	28,362
Philippines	3,130	6,093	10,865	16,731	20,744	31,203	28,471	29,376	30,799	32,857	31,751
Vietnam*	226	275	490	590	983	1,450	2,038	3,412	4,569	3,192	3,039
Other**	6,631	9,112	12,451	13,128	17,074	20,361	22,266	25,981	22,621	26,261	25,843
Total Asia	20,683	41,432	61,446	58,989	75,659	94,883	103,461	121,058	121,160	130,662	132,469

*Does not include Vietnamese refugees entering the U.S. during 1975.

**Other countries include Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Ryukyu Islands, Syria, Thailand, and other Asian countries.

Source: These figures are derived from table 14 in the Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Reports, 1965 through 1975.

The increase in immigration from Asian countries has not only caused population increases but has also altered the socioeconomic situation of Asians in this country. A comparison of recent immigration information with data collected much earlier will reveal a number of changes. One major development has been the dramatic increase in the ratio of women to men in all the Asian groups. This is caused by the predominance of Asian females entering the United States as permanent residents.[10]

While the majority of Asian immigrants will settle in the Far West, increasing numbers have made their homes elsewhere. Moreover, recent immigration figures show a definite trend among recent arrivals to continue to settle in major cities, including Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, Chicago, Detroit, Seattle, and San Diego.[11]

When documenting economic and occupational levels for different ethnic groups, it is important to consider the fact that certain types of individuals or skill groups are drawn to various parts of the country. For example, the majority of Filipino immigrants settling in the East are younger, highly educated professionals; e.g., medical doctors, registered nurses, accountants, engineers etc. However, although some of the recent Filipino arrivals in Hawaii are also highly educated, many have no more than a high school education and are usually relegated to a laborer's or service worker's job.[12]

Immigration figures for the past 10 years also show a definite change in the major occupations listed for immigrants from Asia. The proportion of professionals to the total number coming from certain Asian countries is very large, especially for India and the Philippines. More professionals entering the U.S. come from the Philippines than from any other single country in the world.[13]

It is important to ask why these people have left their native lands. The majority of recent Asian immigrants entered the United States as permanent resident aliens or as immediate relatives of American citizens--that is, unmarried minor children, spouses or parents of adult U.S. citizens. They came from all walks of life and for a variety of reasons, e.g., "in order to give their children opportunities they never had in China, such as free education, open job opportunities, and a democratic way of life."[14] Still others who have been highly trained came to the United States to take advantage of educational and work opportunities not offered in their own countries and thus to improve their economic condition. Many immigrants came fleeing from political unrest and seeking the economic stability that eluded them in their own country. All of them left behind family, friends, a way of life, and familiar food, customs, and surroundings to gamble on a better life in these United States.

EDUCATION

The 1970 census shows that the percentage of Japanese females with less than 8 years of education is smaller than the norm of all U.S. females. There is an even larger gap between uneducated Japanese males and U.S. males. Although a greater percentage of Japanese women (than the total for U.S. females) have finished college, the gap between Japanese and U.S. males is double.

A study of the data supplied by the 1970 U.S. census shows an 8 percent difference between Chinese males and females in the attainment of 4 or more years of college. Interestingly enough, between the ages of 25 and 44 years, more foreign-born Chinese males have 15 or more years of schooling while U.S.-born Chinese females have more education than Chinese immigrant women.

Among Filipinos in the United States, a greater percentage of women have completed high school (male--49 percent and female--65 percent). Furthermore, the percentage of Filipino women with 4 or more years of college is twice that of Filipino males. The 1970 U.S. census indicates that only 46 percent of Filipinos (both male and female) between the ages of 3 and 34 are presently enrolled in school seeking further education, while the average for the U.S. is 54 percent of all people between those ages, with 59 percent of the Japanese and 62 percent of the Chinese presently enrolled in school.

The above figures reflect the national picture, but one must be aware that the educational attainment for the different ethnic groups will vary from city to city and State to State. For example, in the fastest growing area among Chinese, New York's Chinatown, the median age for schooling completed for males is 8.0 years and the median for females is only 6.8 years.[15] Moreover, the proportion of college graduates in cities with the largest concentration of Chinese females, namely New York and San Francisco, is lower than the same proportion for Chinese women calculated nationally. That is, the large population centers have fewer well-educated Chinese women. A published article states that "many of the Chinese citizens in San Francisco still cannot speak the English language . . . of 62,820 male Chinese interviewed in the last census (1970) 9,430 had completed no school and 7,825 got through high school. Of 27,795 females interviewed, 3,980 had completed no school and 6,480 had gone through high school."[16]

Among Filipinos the high national percentage of women completing either high school (65 percent) or college (27 percent) is indicative of the high educational attainment of recently arrived immigrant women. However, areas with few new immigrant women--Hawaii and rural areas of California--the educational level for Filipinas is much lower. Only about half have completed high school and approximately one-third of the women have only an eighth-grade education.[17]

"Korean War Brides are less educated than Japanese War Brides. One-third of the Korean War Brides had a high school education or less; whereas, two-thirds of the Japanese had a high school education or less. However, one-third of the population of either group pursued training of any kind in the United States, i.e., English, technical/vocational, adult education or college."[18]

The 1970 U.S. census showed that 11 percent of all Japanese women have college degrees, compared to 17 percent for the Chinese women and 27 percent for the Filipino women. Percentages for the latter two have increased since this report was published because, as the Immigration and Naturalization Annual Reports for 1974 and 1975 indicate, the rate of educated young women immigrating from China and the Philippines has remained very high.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF COLLEGE EDUCATED ASIAN WOMEN

	1960	1970
Japanese	7	11
Chinese	14	17
Filipinos	13	27

What table 4 does not show is that a large proportion of college educated Filipino women of the 1960's were themselves earlier immigrants (late forties or fifties), former students, or workers on special visas who eventually made their home in this country.

This is the problem: although many Asians are professionals with years of experience behind them, many of them have not been able to secure jobs commensurate with their education, skills, and experience. For these women, their quest for economic and professional fulfillment in this country has been riddled with frustrations and hampered by obstacles.

PROBLEMS

In view of the fact that a higher percentage of Asian females than white American women have college degrees, it is tempting to think that most of these educated women should be able to secure well-paying jobs without difficulty.[19] However, several things should be considered. First, acceptance of Asian people by the majority society varies from region to region. Consequently, people with the equal skills from the same country and with the same educational advantages may not have the same occupational opportunities, depending on where they live in the United States.[20] Secondly, each ethnic group is unique; thus, the attitudes toward working women may differ. For example, "traditionally, Korean women are not supposed to work, but stay in the house and concentrate more on child education, housework . . . the husband is the main responsible party for the financial matters. Usually, the husband does not approve of the wife's employment, unless it is inevitable."[21]

Thirdly, there are major obstacles to be overcome; e g., lack of some English communication skills, the inability to secure licensing and certification, underemployment and/or underutilization of skills, or little education.

English Communication Skills

Although many female Asian immigrants have degrees, they may lack some English communication skills. Often they suffer because some Americans believe that English spoken with a non-European-immigrant accent is harder to understand.

Often, experienced Asian teachers with good English verbal, reading, and writing skills are denied positions because school officials deem that a teacher with an accent (however slight) would be detrimental to the students' education. The insensitivity of the school administration with this type of attitude shows an ignorance of the needs of the growing number of immigrant students from Asia who could benefit from the bilingual and bicultural skills of immigrant teachers.

Many of the older recent arrivals from Samoa find it difficult to communicate in English. For this reason, they prefer to seek jobs where little English is needed. This is indeed a pity. Two Seattle-based Samoan counselors admitted that women prefer "people-oriented" jobs but, being deficient in English, they will seek nonverbal jobs such as piecework in sewing factories.[22]

This lack of English communication skills is often the basic reason why even highly trained Asian professionals (other than those facing licensing hassles) are denied jobs equivalent to those that they held in their native countries. A Chicago study on Koreans stated that "English improvement classes were desired more by persons in professional work than any other occupational group. This raised the possibility that the role and the position, expectations or requirements within their professions demanded better communication skills from them."[23]

Another aspect of the problems facing Asian-Pacific peoples is even deeper--limited education and the need for basic English skills to secure a job. They hope to find employment soon after their arrival, but there are few jobs that do not require English as a means of communication. "Handicapped by their inability to speak and to write English, they are unable to find employment . . . and their wives, who usually have never worked outside their homes and who are not trained in any skill, must also work . . . the vicious circle continues because they don't have the time to attend school and to learn a new language to advance themselves."[24]

Licensing and Certification

The inability to secure licensing and certification is another major problem facing Asian professionals which should be of utmost interest to participants in this conference, since almost half of the immigrant professionals are women.[25] Since 1965, Asian professionals have been admitted to this country on a third or fourth preference--that, is members of professions and persons with exceptional ability in sciences and arts, or married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens. However, they have found that very often State licensing procedures impede their ability to practice their professions in many of the mainland States. This is especially true of Asian health professionals whose numbers exceed those coming from other parts of the world.

It has been pointed out by the Medical World News that only "about one-third of the graduates from the two countries now supplying us with the most FMG's--India and the Philippines--passed the ECFMG (Educational Conference for Foreign Medical Graduates) examination in 1974."

The California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights prepared an excellent report on problems of Korean- and Philippine-educated health professionals seeking licensure in California. This report states: "In many cases their certifications are not recognized, (their) experience not accepted, or their educational credentials inadequate for state licensure. For one group, foreign-educated pharmacists, the situation is more severe since they are even denied entry into the licensing examinations. Lack of proficiency in the English language and inadequate public and private financial assistance for taking review and refresher courses are added difficulties."[26]

It is ironic that literally thousands upon thousands of Asian immigrants--who do not seek health care from non-Asian doctors, dentists, nurses, pharmacists, etc., except in emergencies--are denied the preferred services of the bilingual, bicultural health professionals from their native countries because of restrictive licensing procedures imposed by professional organizations.

Underemployment and/or Underutilization of Skills

Another major problem is underemployment. Although foreign-educated professionals are given immigration priority, it is not necessarily true that doctors, nurses, dentists, pharmacists, lawyers, engineers, teachers, accountants, etc., are accepted by the professional organizations in the United States. Often these people are victims of employment stereotyping: Asians are only capable of manual labor or entry-level jobs. Furthermore, many Americans also hold the fallacious impression that an education required in Asian countries is often inferior to one received here.

Thus, Asian professionals have experienced great frustrations and suffered much humiliation when forced to accept menial jobs as a last resort for economic survival. Many cannot obtain the necessary licensing or the certification to practice their profession. Most are not wealthy and have some familial responsibilities, either in the United States or in their native country. The only alternative for East Indian-, Chinese-, Korean-, or Philippine-born and educated professionals has been to accept any type of job offered or to face unemployment or welfare.

Therefore, it is not uncommon to find doctors working as medical assistants, registered nurses as aides, pharmacists and dentists as technicians, certified accountants as financial clerks, teachers as aides, engineers as draftsmen, lawyers as clerks, or any of these professionals as custodians, clerks, or farm laborers. These Asian professionals usually perform work beyond that expected in the job description but they do not always receive wages equivalent to non-Asians with the same job.

At a hearing on discrimination against Asians, it was noted that "in the Dental School there is a 'Filipino' dentist with thirteen years of practice from the University of the Philippines. She's an orthodontist and has been there (at the University of Washington) for two years making only $432. Her job title is Dental Assistant but she's actually making the plates."[27]

In the aforementioned Chicago study and one done at the University of Washington in Seattle on Filipino staff employees, some rather interesting facts surfaced. Most of the unskilled and white-collar workers and others classified as such were college graduates. The University of Washington study examined a sample of 44 employees and found that although the average education acquired was 15.6 years the average salary was only $7,040 with an average employment length of 4.5 years. Of these 44 employees, 25 had a college education and 10 had a master's degree or better.[28] Therefore, one can only conclude that the skills and education of many recent immigrants are being either grossly wasted or exploited.

A Chinese woman with several degrees was passed over for promotion in the budget department of McClellan Air Force Base near Sacramento although she had been considered very capable. The reason given by her supervisor was that she spoke with an accent. According to her lawyer, however, she spoke English precisely and her grammar was impeccable.[29]

In a Chicago study, immigrants compared their current jobs with those they had held in their native country, and it was found that 12 percent more Koreans worked as professionals before immigration. This is another indication of the underemployment or "downward mobility" experienced not only by the professionals but also by those previously holding managerial positions. The same study showed that although there may not be "severe underemployment since all are employed in a professional position, many doctors and nurses expressed problems in obtaining a license or in taking examinations to obtain a license. Therefore, they are employed as salaried persons in large public hospitals in positions with professional categories but with lower pay.[30]

If it were not for these foreign medical graduates and foreign nurses, many hospitals in the Eastern States would be in danger of closing. Their presence has also allowed more American-educated health professionals, especially doctors, the opportunity to take on the more lucrative private practices.[31]

Lack of Skills and Education

The plight of the undereducated Asian wives of American servicemen has been examined in several studies and reports during the past 3 years. One of these cites the lack of public education among the lower classes in the woman's country, "particularly, in relatively poor countries such as Korea or Vietnam. Consequently, many of the wives have had formal education only through elementary school."[32] Arthur C. Wang equated the lack of education and job and English communication skills with the inability to secure any but menial or poorly paid work. The Demonstration Project for Asian Americans' study of 137 Asian wives also showed that their average length of education was 7.6 years. However, approximately 29 percent had only 4 to 6 years of school. Most of the women in this study were employed in unskilled jobs, some worked in the entertainment service field (e.g., go-go dancers), and others were doing manual labor. Self-employed women owned sauna parlors. None of these jobs required fluency of English or education or high skills.[33] It was noted that because many Chinese wives had never worked outside their homes and were not trained in any skill, when they had to work to contribute to the family coffers, they often found their way into Chinese-owned sewing factories and laundromats where they were underpaid. Thus, we see Asian-Pacific women, regardless of their education, suffering some hardship when seeking jobs that satisfy them financially and/or intellectually. It is a pity that they are often unfairly used and further exploited by employers. It is sadder still that they often accept such treatment and thereby perpetuate the injustices heaped upon them and others like them.

STATE OF THE ART

It is rather difficult to enumerate and to assess what has been done and what is currently being programed to provide educational alternatives for Asian-Pacific women when it is rather obvious that such opportunities are nonexistent. This is especially true in view of the facts that: (1) there are so many different educational needs to meet in the entire Asian-Pacific experience; (2) there is general ignorance about exactly what must be done and for whom (e.g., the majority of those needing educational alternatives are the immigrants); (3) there is apathy in initiating needed projects to meet Asian-Pacific community needs; and (4) there is very little money available even if specific projects for certain Asian-Pacific target groups are conceived, researched, justified, written in proposal form, and presented through required procedures to potential funding sources.

There have been some attempts to meet the problem head-on, but they have been few and far between. These attempts are usually limited to nonprofessional careers and to very few recipients. If such proposed programs are accepted they are minimally funded for a short period of time. The major problem, as I see it, is that most funding sources often stipulate that participants in either an existing or new project must be at poverty or lower family income level.

These are major obstacles facing most Asian-Pacific priority needs. How much more so those needs involving just women of Asian-Pacific origins! While the intent to provide opportunities for those most in need financially is commendable, government planners often lose sight of the fact that many Asian-Pacific women in need of alternative educational programs would not presently qualify. These women have had to take on any job in order to survive. In most of their families, other adults or older children work. Thus the combined family income of several jobs (no matter how little it is) always raises the family above the prescribed base rate.

As an example, the Demonstration Project for Asian Americans in Seattle wrote a proposal to provide psychiatric clinical training at Seattle Central Community College for immigrant nurses from Asia. After much delay and many negotiation sessions, the funding source decreed that classes could be held, but declared that students had to fit CETA regulations stating that an eligible person had to be at poverty level or unemployed for at least 5 weeks. This eliminated the bulk of the applicants, many of whom had taken on nurses' aide jobs. Also, many of the women had less than the required community college level of English competency. Restrictions like these killed the project before it could even start, despite the fact that many foreign nursing graduates had eagerly applied for classes. We are now in the process, through DPAA and other community groups, of renegotiating terms for the project for 1976-77. This time we are also being careful to skirt all the obstacles faced in the aborted pilot project.

The scope of existing alternative education projects doubtlessly changes from city to city. They range from cosmetology and culinary arts to licensed practical nursing and, finally, to the newly instituted DHEW/OBE Bilingual Bicultural Teacher Trainer Program which will be instituted this fall in a few universities around the country, plus pre-medical occupational training programs such as the one initiated at the Seattle Opportunities Industrialization Center (SOIC) in 1973.

Job counselors have said that most of their clients are anxious to seek admittance to these classes, especially when it becomes quite apparent that they may never to able to use the skills and education they acquired in their Asian-Pacific places of origin. Therefore, community colleges and programs like Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) have seen increasing numbers of Asian-Pacific men and women taking advantage of classes offered in these institutions. Consequently, Filipinas who were teachers may study office skills; accountants may enroll in classes for bank tellers; science majors may apply for keypunch or data processing classes; and registered nurses may become licensed practical nurses. Educated Korean women may go for keypunch and accounting, while others may train in culinary arts or cosmetology. English language difficulties will discourage many of these Asian-Pacific women from enrolling in clerical or nursing classes. This is especially true of older Samoan women who find it difficult to communicate in English. Samoan girls and younger women are seeking courses in office skills and nursing; however, according to one Samoan counselor, there is very little counseling in American high schools to encourage Samoan girls to go beyond traditional jobs held by older Samoan women--e.g., doing piecework in sewing factories.

Another major area in alternative education offered adult Asian immigrants and Pacific Island nationals is the English as a Second Language classes taught by bilingual, bicultural Asian Americans. These classes are designed to increase English communication skills by using as instruction texts books related to the former or desired vocation or profession of the student. The Seattle Central Community College program has been in existence for almost 4 years and, while far from perfect, because of the persistence and the watchdog tactics of the Asian American community people, it is fairly successful.

More attention is being given to the training of bilingual, bicultural teachers, instructors, and administrators to meet the needs of the growing numbers of Asian children on the West Coast and in Chicago, New York, and Boston. These programs are still in the fledgling stage and many are shaky because Asian-Pacific people are low priority when funds are allocated for bilingual education.

Other educational programs, designed to give immigrant women a choice in selecting another career, are scattered and often difficult to enter. The DPAA helped lobby in the Washington State Legislature for the passage of a Physicians' Assistant Bill designed to give money to the University of Washington to maintain and to beef up its existing program. It was generally acknowledged that the presence and testimony of Filipino doctors in the State Capitol helped the bill to be enacted. However, to this date, not one Filipino has been admitted to the program and the chances for admittance seem remote.

Therefore, one can conclude that some efforts to prov[illegible] needed educational alternatives are currently being made. It is my opinion that more programs are needed. However, the success of these programs and the number of Asian-Pacific women being served is questionable.

RECOMMENDATIONS

While it is important to provide educational alternatives for Asian-Pacific women, it is imperative not to lose sight of the fact that, although this may be the beginning of an exciting new career for some women, this is often the last resort for many of the professionals, especially the recent immigrants.

Therefore, recognizing the variety of needs, I recommend the following actions:

1. Provide specialized training for Asian-Pacific bilingual/bicultural teachers, already qualified to teach in content areas such as mathematics and history, and who are best able to respond and to be sensitive to the unique needs of students with limited or no English-speaking skills.

2. Provide training for Asian-Pacific bilingual/bicultural instructors or teacher aides who could assist in educating Asian-Pacific immigrant children.

3. Set up courses which would allow--within a minimum time span--the maximum use of previously acquired skills or knowledge; e.g., medical doctors in physicians' assistant courses, certified public accountants in bookkeeping, etc.

4. Set up refresher courses for health professionals preparing to take their licensing examinations.

5. Educate and train Asian-Pacific bilingual social workers, especially for Samoans.

6. Provide adult basic education for Asian-Pacific peoples.

7. Establish colloquial English classes for recent immigrants.

8. Recruit, train, and hire Asian-Pacific bilingual instructors with a variety of vocational skills who would provide training for immigrant women.

9. Provide the trainees in vocational rehabilitation programs adequate moneys to survive while receiving training.

10. Develop information and data systems within vocational education channels to match the student with a program and a guarantee of a viable vocation skill at the conclusion of her training.

11. Utilize Asian-American and Pacific Island organizations, sensitive to the unique employment and training needs of their peoples, in planning and implementing viable vocational training and retraining for Asian-Pacific people.

NOTES

[1] State of California, Department of Industrial Relations, Division of Fair Employment Practices, Californians of Japanese, Chinese and Filipino Ancestry--Population/Employment/Income/Education (June 1965); and Calvin F. Schmid, Charles Nobbe, Arlene Mitchell, Non-White Races--State of Washington, for Washington State Planning and Community Affairs Agency (1968).

[2] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States, PC(2)-16.

[3] U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports (1970-1975).

[4] Canta Pian, A Study of Selected Socio-Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census, Volume II: Asian Americans, a study conducted for the Office of Special Concerns, DHEW (July 1974): xii.

[5] Asian Americans and Pacific Peoples: A Case of Mistaken Identity, Report to the California Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights (February 1975): 31, 53.

[6] INS Annual Report (1975).

[7] DAT MOI, August 8, 1976.

[8] U.S. News and World Report, October 13, 1975, p. 71.

[9] The Rodino Bill and the Patsy Mink Bill are now pending. The Rodino Bill would penalize employers for hiring illegal aliens. Many people worry that the bill could also serve to restrict immigration from Latin America. The Patsy Mink Bill, also knows as the Gateway Bill, is designed to provide Federal assistance in education, employment, and other matters to areas with heavy concentrations of foreign-born people. In 1973, in the Lau vs. Nichols case, the Supreme Court ruled on behalf of 1,800 Chinese-Americans in San Francisco that "those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experience wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful." In 1975, the U.S. Office of Education/DHEW ruled against a number of school districts which had failed to provide equal educational opportunity to students from national origin minority groups.

[10] INS Annual Reports.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Artemio Baxa, A Report on Filipino Immigration and Social Changes in Maui County, project of the County of Maui with cooperation of Maui Economic Opportunity, Inc., and the State of Hawaii Law Enforcement and Juvenile Delinquency Planning Agency, March 15, 1973.

[13] INS Annual Reports.

[14] Pei-Ngor Chen, The Chinese Community of Los Angeles, Social Case Work Magazine, December 1970, p. 593.

[15] Pian, op. cit., pp. 66-77.

[16] Author unknown, Chinatown, USA, the Unassimilated People: 50,000 in a Ghetto.

[17] Pian, *op. cit.*

[18] Sil Dong Kim, Jong Gie Kim, and Becky Hashimoto, Korean and Japanese War Brides, DPAA (1975).

[19] Pian, *op. cit.*

[20] Medical doctors from the Philippines in the DPAA study on health professionals experienced great difficulty in securing residency or internships in the State of Washington but were accepted in the Dakotas and the Eastern States.

[21] David Y. Lee, Korean American Community in Los Angeles, study done for the Demonstration Project for Asian Americans (1972): 10.

[22] Based on interviews with Samoan counselors Paul Patu (Seattle Public Schools) and Sapina Titialii (Employment Opportunity Center).

[23] Bok-Lim Kim, Service Needs of Asian Immigrants as Seen by the Ethnic Churches: Korean Example.

[24] Chen, *op. cit.*

[25] The nurses are women, as are most of the teachers and a large percentage of the doctors, dentists, pharmacists, and accountants.

[26] California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, A Dream Unfulfilled: Korean and Filipino Health Professionals in California (May 1975): 13.

[27] Testimony given by Michael Castillano, past supervisor of the University of Washington's Asian Division in the Office of Minority Affairs, before the Governor's Asian-American Advisory Council, State of Washington, March 1973.

[28] Kim. *op cit.*; and Castillano, *loc. cit.*

[29] Chinese in San Francisco, employment problems of the community as presented in testimony before the California Fair Employment Practice Commission.

[30] Bok-Lim Kim, Margaret E. Condon, A Study of Asian Americans in Chicago: Their Socio-Economic Characteristics, Problems and Service Needs (October 15, 1975).

[31] Dorothy L. Cordova, Ick Whan Lee, A Study of Problems of Asian Health Professionals, DPAA study (July 1975).

[32] Arthur C. Wang, Summary of Basic Problems in the Asian American Community, Tacoma Community House (July 23, 1973).

[33] Sil Dong Kim, An Analysis of Problems of Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen, DPAA Press (July 1975).

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V. Group II: Researchers

CHAPTER V

GROUP II: RESEARCHERS

Chair: Setsuko Matsunaga Nishi
Co-chair: Alma Cooper

PRESENTERS

Canta Pian: "Immigration of Asian Women and the Status of Recent Asian Women Immigrants"

Masako Murakami Osako: "The Effects of Asian-American Kinship Systems Upon Women's Educational and Occupational Attainment"

Lily Wong Fillmore and Jacqueline Leong Cheong: "The Early Socialization of Asian-American Female Children"

Pauline L. Fong and Amado Y. Cabezas: "Economic and Employment Status of Asian-Pacific Women"

Lucie Cheng Hirata: "Social Mobility of Asian Women in America: A Critical Review"

Sharon M. Fujii: "Elderly Pacific Island and Asian-American Women: A Framework for Understanding"

Bok-Lim C. Kim: "Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen: Women in Triple Jeopardy (paper commissioned following conference)

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CHAIRPERSON'S SUMMARY

The papers commissioned by the National Institute of Education were presented at the Conference on the Educational and Occupational Needs of Asian-Pacific-American Women, August 24-25, 1976, in San Francisco, California. The six papers served as a basis for discussion by the Research Group and are summarized here with the authors' recommendations. An additional paper commissioned in response to a recommendation of the conference is also included.

"Immigration of Asian Women and the Status of Recent Asian Women Immigrants" by Canta Pian

Historical analysis of the early waves of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Indian, and Filipino immigration documents the extreme restrictiveness of policies geared to U.S. labor needs and international and domestic politics. The consequences noted are the extreme imbalance in the sex ratio of immigrant labor; the special roles and strains of the scarce early women immigrants; the separation from wives and children who could not emigrate or immigrate; the late marriages of male immigrants through home visits and "picture-bride" arrangements, for those groups and in those periods when laws permitted; the laws against interracial marriage; and great contrasts among Asian ethnic groups in the time and the degree to which families could be established and stabilized in the United States.

World War II brought some significant changes in opening up immigration to special categories of Asians: a token 105 Chinese per year and wives, fiancees, and children of U.S. servicemen. Token removal of the exclusion of Asians and permission for naturalization were accomplished by the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act, which established an annual quota of 100 immigrants each from China, Japan, India, and the Philippines. Two-thousand Chinese were authorized entry by the 1953 Refugee Relief Act.

Between World War II and the 1965 change in the immigration law, the numbers, though small, show a dramatic reversal in the sex ratio of immigrants with the coming of wives and fiancees of servicemen and the policy of promoting family unity.

The current immigration flow (since the 1965 changes became effective in 1968) accounts for perhaps half from the beginning of all immigration from Asia. Some distinctive features are highlighted: Filipino and Korean immigrants far outnumber the Chinese and Japanese, who presently constitute the largest U.S. Asian groups; they are settling in increasing proportion outside the Western region of historic concentration; professional and technical occupational preferences predominate; and the proportion of women is high.

The greater number of female entries is explained by such factors as the nonquota immigration of wives of servicemen; the requirement of military service for young men before emigration from Korea, Taiwan, and preunified Vietnam; quota preferences for family and relatives of earlier immigrants, who were largely male; and quota preference for some professional occupations, e.g., medicine, in which women have had opportunity for training in the Philippines, Korea, and India. The Immigration and Naturalization Service does not report occupational characteristics of immigrants by sex, which handicaps efforts to assess the present status of immigrant women.

Some generalizations are warranted on the basis of scattered studies: women immigrants are undercounted in their potential for the labor market, which is generally very high for Asian-American females. The "brain drain," especially from the Philippines and Korea, includes a sizable number of professional women, who often face obstacles in licensure and may become underemployed in clerical and service occupations. Women who enter under relative preference categories, such as many Chinese, tend to have lower educational and occupational preparation and are likely to work as operatives in garment factories, where they do not learn English and become locked into low-wage and long-hours employment. English language acquisition by immigrants is related to routinized contacts with English speakers, and women more than men may be in less public home and work situations, which affects their future mobility potential. Vietnamese refugee women appear to be more willing than men to accept low-status jobs, contributing to marital strains. Asian wives of U.S. servicemen are often isolated from cultural and social supports available to other immigrants, and many confront unusual hardships in adjustment.

Author's Policy Recommendations

1. Alternatives to present professional licensing procedures should be investigated, including equivalency evaluations, proficiency examinations, reciprocity of licensure, national standards with Federal licensure and certification, removal of residency and citizenship restrictions, and internship and other transitional programs.

2. Bilingual and bicultural adult classes should be developed for the learning of job-related and everyday English.

3. An HEW interagency study of immigrant needs should be conducted, information-referral and multiservice models developed, and "Gateway cities" be given specially legislated funds for immigrant services.

4. Programs for upgrading the language and job skills of immigrant women in expanding industries should have bilingual vocational counseling and childcare supports.

5. The varying patterns of immigrant adjustment needs and resources, especially for those isolated from their ethnic communities, should be investigated. Appropriate programs should be developed.

General Data Needs

1. Analysis by sex should be provided for in studies of immigrants.
2. Immigration statistics should identify separately the characteristics of women and accurately record the labor-potential of married women.
3. Data regarding Samoan and Guamanian populations in the U.S. and migration should be maintained by an appropriate Federal agency (the Immigration and Naturalization Service records do not include people from U.S. territories, and census data are not available on these groups).
4. Longitudinal sample studies of immigrant adaptation are a fundamental need.

Problems for Research

1. The underemployment of Asian immigrant women, that is, their employment at levels lower than those of women with comparable backgrounds.
2. Factors associated with high rate of labor force participation of Asian immigrant women--e.g., economic need, cultural values, pioneering spirit, etc.
3. Factors associated with low participation in the labor force of some Asian women such as Samoans and wives of U.S. servicemen--language, educational and occupational skills, childcare services, family role preference, etc.
4. Differences in adjustment processes of Asian immigrant men and women; e.g., in English language acquisition, dependency on ethnic communities, contacts with the majority society, attention to problems.
5. Current American attitudes toward Asian immigrants, particularly stereotypes about Asian females and their effects on first and subsequent generational adjustment.
6. Variations in adaptation patterns of Asian women.

"The Effects of Asian-American Kinship Systems Upon Women's Educational and Occupational Attainment" by Masako Murakami Osako

The paper seeks to clarify kinship factors as related to the educational and occupational attainments of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino American women. The author contends that there has been little communication between scholars of kinships systems and of achievement and that the numerous kinship variables studied in relationship to achievement and modernization have not been integrated within kinship system considerations, including family values and role relationship structures.

Historical analysis establishes some successive parallel circumstances as well as variations which would need to be considered in research pertaining to Asian ethnics--in particular, the sex-ratio imbalance of early labor importation and the different circumstances of the arrival of women and periods for family development in the United States. Through demographic analysis of 1970 census data, Osako identifies some distinctive features of the age-sex distribution of Chinese, which do not appear among the Japanese and total U.S. population. Noted also is the high proportion of foreign born among the Chinese and Filipinos with the suggestion of the importance of considering the influence of U.S. immigration policy in the attainment of Asian-Americans.

Studies cited of Asian-American achievement do not specifically focus on women; thus, despite the deficiencies of 1970 census data, the author employs this source to establish that Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese-American women have higher median years of school completed, proportions of college graduates, and participation in the work force, both with and without children, compared with the total U.S. female population. Chinese and Filipino women have a higher percentage employed in the professions than women of any other racial groups; Chinese women have a relatively high proportion working as operatives; and females of all three Asian groups have only 1 percent working as laborers compared with the U.S. population figure of 9 percent. Ethnicity, nativity, and age are shown to be significant variables, suggesting the importance of cohort and age-related analyses.

A discussion of some "attainment" models reveals Osako's views of the shortcomings of current achievement theory pertaining to the role of kinship factors, especially in dealing with minority women's achievement process. What she calls the "Wisconsin model" is found deficient in not considering the contextual factor of discrimination and kinship factors, except socioeconomic status. What she calls the "black family model," based on Moynihan et al.'s highly disputed report, is cited favorably for its attention to family structural effects in understanding group variations in achievement. The "demographic model" selected is Sweet's analysis of economic and other demographic family compositional characteristics, which were found not to account for black and white differences in women's participation in the labor force, which in turn influences the family's economic status; her conclusion from assessing this model is to affirm the importance of other factors such as immigration policy and kinship structure and ideology. Chosen as a "cross-cultural model" is Youssef's study, which employs demographic data in an effort to explain women's labor force and professional participation in Latin countries and nonparticipation in Arab countries; but Youssef concludes that larger institutional differences, i.e., exclusive family control compared to competition for control from the church, are more explanatory.

All four models, though including kinship factors, fail to integrate them into the structural, ideological, and attributional components of kinship systems. Nor do they identify the nature and relative importance of kinship factors in comparison to other factors. Furthermore, they do not consider adequately the contextual demand for women's labor, of particular importance to minorities because of discrimination and occupational preference in immigration policies. Nonetheless, some correlations between family variables and achievement have been identified, though intensive qualitative studies are necessary for a comprehensive listing of significant variables and their meaningful interpretation.

Existing research on the family in China, Japan, and the Philippines and of these ethnic families in the United States is reviewed in relation to their contribution to understanding women's achievement. Some features shared by these groups, especially in contrast to the American family system, are: male dominance, division by sex of household tasks, separate male and female domains of authority, greater affective importance of parent-child ties relative to husband-wife bonds, and the priority of collective family goals over individuals. In America, there has been little study of these factors, particularly as they have undergone change under the impact of immigration, modernization, and American culture, or retained their efficacy under circumstances of economic disadvantage and discrimination. The literature lacks specific investigations of how these Asian American kinship features may cause or prevent women's educational and occupational attainment, possibly depending on the nature of the kinship ideology.

Author's Recommendations

1. The conceptual framework for cross-ethnic study of kinship and status attainment processes should be refined.

2. Asian-American women's family roles should be identified.

3. Asian-American women's status attainment processes should be investigated.

4. Causal relationships between kinship variables and women's achievement among Asian-Americans should be established.

5. In view of the inadequacies of theory and data, a qualitative approach is recommended, including case histories of both achieving and nonachieving Asian-American women.

"The Early Socialization of Asian-American Female Children" by Lily Wong Fillmore and Jacqueline Leong Cheong

"What happens when the world in which an adult finds herself differs in important ways from the world for which her upbringing has prepared her?" This is the problem, and a number of insights regarding the underlying potential for conflict in self-fulfilling achievement among Asian-American women are presented in this paper on early socialization. They are based on the authors' own life experiences as Chinese-American women, some of the scholarly literature, Jade Snow Wong's and Maxine Hong Kingston's (1976) autobiographies, 10 informal interviews with Chinese-American women (3 of whom were first-generation immigrants, in this country more than 20 years and between 40 and 50 years old, and 7 second-generation women, (5 in their mid 20's and 2 in their late 40's), and 4 women in Japan.

Fillmore and Cheong were impressed with some common features of these diverse women: their competence and resourcefulness in overcoming difficulties, a longing for fuller accomplishment and recognition, including appreciation by people close to them, and anxiety about the conflict between requirements of their traditional culture and their need to be productive and independent. The first generation women were married through arrangements made by their relatives and brought to the United States by their Chinese-American husbands. While raising their children and caring for their households--which often included extended kin, they also worked with their husbands in a self-owned grocery, restaurant, or laundry. The case summary depicts a household in which the women is dominated by her mother-in-law, and her production of sons, more than daughters, and helping in her husband's business were considered far more important than her own development. The second-generation women interviewed were vocal in asserting their right to a degree of independence and strained under traditional expectations. The case of a physician who graduated at the head of her class and married a fellow student is presented as illustrative. At the urging of her mother-in-law, she gave up her practice with the arrival of children, and, though she has a good life and her children are now grown, she does not expect to resume her career. She finds herself "looking on, as if I am watching someone else acting out my life." The younger second-generation women revealed a more active struggle to pursue their self-development in the face of family expectations for compliance and self-sacrifice. The several case summaries of women in Japan also depict the strains between self-fulfilling occupational pursuits and family obligations.

It is the contention of the authors that the family-career role conflict for Asian-American women is unique in the unusual strength of inhibitions against individual development, which are internalized through early socialization. According to their interpretation, these constraints are manifest as follows: Despite what would appear as ample external evidence of competence, these women lacked the confidence that their abilities could measure up to their own very high performance standards, which they believed others also expected. Failure, according to such high self and perceived-other expectations, is viewed as highly possible, and the stakes of personal approval-disapproval are conceived as virtually total. Thus, there is the rationalization to accept one's fate in traditional roles. What individual success is achieved tends to be attributed to luck and hard work rather than ability.

The authors propose that the very socialization which produced the skills and determination to succeed in any realm also developed a success-inhibitor in roles counter to cultural expectations. "Negative self-esteem" is described as the mechanism by which Asian females are prepared in skills, work habits, and attitudes to fulfill their traditional roles of subservience and exacting responsibility in the family hierarchy. The inferior value of females relative to males and as transitional family members is evident in many customary practices, including the way mothers are regarded. Sons are exhorted to go out and bring honor to the family; daughters are admonished not to bring shame by unseemly conduct. Properly socialized, female children do not question the fairness of the sex differences and accept as proper their inferior status, according to the interpretation presented.

Relying primarily on Wolf (1970), the authors describe Chinese female childrearing as not very different from that of males until 6 years, "the age of reason." Chores and responsibilities begin with the assignment of small parts of tasks combined with meticulously supervised performance requirements. Girls, especially, are not praised for good performance, but instructed, admonished, and reprimanded until standards are met. The reward is increased responsibility for a larger part of the task. Step-by-step the young girl learns to assume increasingly complex and more inclusive tasks with consistently higher performance standards. While remarking on the effectiveness of such training for competence, the authors also point to the negative consequences of the use of rejection and shame in not fulfilling properly family responsibility. The ultimate threat employed is said to be that someday her behavior before her mother-in-law might reflect badly on her mother.

As long as role aspirations do not go beyond what is culturally socialized, conflicts are not likely to occur, the analysis continues. But in the school socialization setting, their view of themselves is likely to be elevated, given the careful home training for competent performance of assigned tasks and personal characteristics that generally please teachers. For some, aspirations for educational and occupational goals not prescribed by the culture may develop, and this autonomy may be accompanied by the disavowal of some cultural attributes such as modesty, patience, and social sensitivity, which are viewed here as positive. But most Asian-American females, in the authors view, will not overcome their cultural training, which binds them to traditional roles and confines them in the pursuit of independent achievement.

Relevant types of research on socialization of Asian-American children are identified as concerning: (1) parental attitudes on childrearing through questionnaires and interviews, (2) childrearing behavior through observation in naturalistic settings, and (3) social personality change in acculturation through the use of attitude scales and projective tests. Preference is expressed for observational studies in natural settings in light of limitations of the questionnaire and interview techniques in capturing real-life behavior and feelings, both of which have much latent importance.

Proposed are ethnomethodological studies of the total socialization process in the setting in which it occurs, i.e., microscopic examination of all aspects of a segment of socialization interaction. The authors suggest that B. Whiting's field guide, developed for observing child-child interaction, could be adapted for observing mother-daughter interaction to study how mothers structure the setting for their daughters' learning and how daughters internalize cultural role expectations. They further suggest, on the basis of their interviews, that the kitchen would be a fruitful setting for such observation.

Another more pragmatic research problem discussed is that of identifying effective strategies for counseling Asian-American high school girls: (1) in dealing with the conflict between their traditional socialization and educational and occupational career development and (2) in becoming aware of their attitudes and behavior that will affect the way they rear their own daughters.

Authors' Recommendations

1. Ethnomethodological studies of Asian-American mother-daughter socialization interaction processes should be conducted in natural settings such as the kitchen to learn how mothers structure the learning environment and how daughters incorporate cultural role expectations.

2. Research should seek to identify counseling strategies for Asian-American high school girls in dealing with conflicts between their cultural socialization and achievement and in becoming aware of attitudes and behavior that will affect their rearing of daughters.

"Economic and Employment Status of Asian-Pacific Women" by Pauline L. Fong and Amado Y. Cabezas

The economic and employment status of Asian-Pacific women in the United States is the subject addressed in this paper. A supplementary bibliography and review of the literature by Cabezas indicate some of the inadequacies of data collection and interpretation and problem-formulation in these studies. Because of the limitations of data on other groups, the paper centers on Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women, and the authors caution against generalizing about other Asian-Pacific women. The analyses employ cross-sectional data for selected socioeconomic variables, using data aggregated at the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) level when available, otherwise the State level.

The major findings were:

- Labor force participation rates for Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, and Hawaiian women are all considerably higher than for white women in all age groups, except the 16-19 years category. Participation patterns by age group vary among specific Asian ethnic groups and in comparison with whites. School enrollment in the early work years differs widely by ethnicity and geographic location.

- Asian family income and proportion in proverty in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA show considerable disadvantage compared with whites.

- More Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino than white families in California and the U.S. have two or more wage earners. There are fewer of these families with no earners.

- More Chinese and Japanese than whites in California are self-employed, which is indicative of proportionately more unpaid family workers.

- The proportion of Asian families in poverty who receive public assistance is substantially lower than that for all races in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and New York.

- More married Asian women work than white married women.

- More Chinese and Filipino women with children under 6 years in husband-wife families work than comparable white women.

- A larger proportion of Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women than white women over 16 years are never married.

- The percent of Chinese women with college and postgraduate education earning $10,000 or more per year is less than Chinese men and white and black men and women in the U.S.

- As their level of education increases Asian women fall farther behind comparably educated white women in the U.S. in earning power.

- Between 25-34 years, when men are developing their careers, Asian women, as well as white women, withdraw from the labor market and reenter at 35 or older. Early career status is likely to be negatively affected.

- Asian women in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA occupy the lower status occupations in the professional and technical job category, are underrepresented in occupations involving substantial contact and high English language skill, and are overrepresented in occupations consistent with popular stereotypes.

- Only in the apparel and other textile products category among all manufacturing industries do Asian women in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA approach parity in participation, and their employment level in this category is four times parity. In construction, transportation, wholesale trade, and in security and commodity exchanges, Asian women are employed significantly below parity.

- More than two-thirds of employed Asian women clustered in only seven out of thirty major private industries: apparel and other textile products, communications, general retail merchandising, banking, insurance, hotels and other lodging places, and medical and other health services. Within each of these industries, Asian women are again concentrated in specific lower-status occupations.

The authors conclude that Asian women's low economic status is directly affected by their low status in the job markets. The low earning power of Asian men is another factor. Regardless of age, marital status, or educational level, Asian women work in large numbers but have low earning power relative to their educational and occupational levels.

Authors' Recommendations

1. Priority in research should go to understanding the causes of the employment and economic status of Asian women. Such research should have a policy and action focus.

2. Asians with demonstrated technical competence and understanding of Asian communities should conduct the research.

3. The differences in problems and needs among Asian-Pacific groups should be respected and addressed in the research.

4. The Women's Research Program should work with the Bureau of the Census to obtain a comprehensive data base for the employment status of Asian women from the 1980 census, including data for each specific Asian-Pacific ethnic group and for Asian men and white men and women as study control groups and stratified by geographic area with high sample rates in SMSA's with Asian population concentrations. Data should be made available on computer tapes of individual records with proper safeguards for confidentiality.

5. Larger samples of individual file records and for areas of Asian concentration should be made available from the 1970 census as per recommendations concerning the 1980 census.

6. The following research problems should be addressed:

    a. Development of an occupational stratification theory pertaining to Asian women's low occupational status and low earnings, including variables such as education, socioeconomic background, first job status, marital status, fertility, immigration, and sex and race discrimination.

    b. Factors associated with low returns to occupation and earnings of education for Asian women, particularly of higher education and in low status jobs within occupations.

    c. Ways to broaden career options for Asian women.

    d. Identification of patterns of sex and race discrimination victimizing Asian women.

   e. Circumstances of poor starts in job careers of Asian women, including career placement in first jobs.

   f. Ways to upgrade careers of Asian women, understanding the conditions associated with their poor job mobility.

   g. Means to channel Asian women into leadership positions in education, Government, business, health, and other areas.

   h. Current attitudes and knowledge of young Asian women in school and in the work force regarding their employment career prospects and work and family role responsibilities.

   i. Response of Asian women to sex and race discrimination at school and work.

   j. Early career experiences of Asian women, including: first job, job search process and resources used, influences on decision to continue schooling and/or work, and formation of aspirations.

7. By definition, Asian Pacific women are minorities and should not be excluded by regulations calling for "maximum impact" nor subsumed in other categories where their distinctive characteristics and issues are not addressed.

   a. NIE should continue its leadership role concerning minority women's issues, especially its sensitivity to the diversity of problems involved.

   b. Asian-Pacific women should continue to participate in the Women's Research Program, articulating needs of their communities and conducting needs assessments, research studies, training, and development programs.

"Social Mobility of Asian Women in America: A Critical Review" by Lucie Cheng Hirata

The scholarly literature on the social mobility of Asian-American women is said to be so scant that the materials for a review could not fill a page. Asian-Americans generally have received little attention from sociologists, reports the author, although there are a few monographic accounts of the World War II evacuation and resettlement of Japanese-Americans and some general textbook-like treatises on Asian-American groups. Several exceptions are cited, including the yet to be released studies from the Japanese-American Research Project at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The author's survey documents that between 1895 and 1975 the four oldest American sociological journals published 137 articles (1 percent of the total published) including information on Asian-Americans or Pacific Islander groups, the majority in the two decades around the second World War. Forty-five percent of the articles concerned Japanese in America, 31 percent the Chinese, and 18 percent Filipinos; Asian-Indians, Koreans, Samoans, and Hawaiians are virtually ignored.

Besides the troubling lack of concern for some groups, Hirata also criticizes the distorted impression resulting from the studies that have been done that Chinese- and Japanese-Americans are the "model minorities." She suggests, with Lipset and Bendix, that publicizing some cases of unusual mobility functions to sustain the belief in open opportunities, even though they may be few, and thus contributes to stabilization of the society.

Only 20 of the 137 articles include even very routine and limited consideration of Asian-American women. Only in articles on intermarriage or on the adjustment of wives of servicemen are Asian-American women the major objects of study.

Eight of the 137 articles concerned social mobility, and none of these specifically focused on women, either omitting women from study or making no analyses by sex when some limited data by sex were presented.

Beyond journal articles, the few studies which Hirata finds quite consistently repeat the success story theme. The reputed rise of Asian-American women, according to this review, has been explicated in terms of their greater participation in the labor force, educational attainment, and outmarriage.

The indicators of success used in most of these studies are the educational, occupational, and income measures of status conceptualized by Weber, which, in this interpretation, has led some authors, e.g., Varon regarding Japanese females, and Wilber et al. regarding Asian-American male and female groups, to conclude that the mobility attained is such that they should not be considered a minority or that they have overcome discrimination and entered the "new middle class." Wilber et al., using an extremely limited sample of mobile women, identified 1965 and 1970 differences in upward and downward mobility among Asian-American groups and between men and women of these populations. Hirata notes that some findings contradict their sanguine conclusion. For example, Japanese and Chinese mobile women moved shorter distances upward and larger intervals downward than white women of comparable education; and there was a tendency for mobile Asian females to lose ground in professional, managerial, and other upper white collar occupations and to make their upward gains in operative and clerical jobs. She furthermore cautions that analysis of major occupational categories such as professional, managerial, etc. has been demonstrated in other studies to obscure male-female inequalities and thus is likely to have resulted in distortions in the Wilber study. Finally, she is critical that group variations in occupational prestige are not accounted for in the scale used.

Essays not based on quantitative analyses are more numerous and give another version of the success theme--i.e., the historical decrease in oppression from feudal male-female relations in Asian countries, to unpaid family labor or prostitution as early immigrant women, and, ultimately, their participation in the labor force and the prediction that, with freedom from family control, emancipation and status improvement are assured. Here, the author points out that oppression under capitalism is as possible as under feudalism and that the movement of Asian women to wage work from being unpaid family workers is improvement in only a limited sense. She continues: Asian women went out to work for the family's survival while maintaining their roles as unpaid domestic workers. They are still concentrated in low-paying jobs.

Serious questions are raised about the use of educational attainment as a measure of status achievement for its assumed causal connection with economic status. The evidence indicates that the income of Asian-American females is not commensurate with their education compared with males of their groups and to white females. In addition, there is the serious problem of the underemployment of professionally trained Asian immigrant women. The failure to account for income dispersion within ccupational categories and the explanatory impotence of education for economic status as they pertain to Asian-American females are said to be inexcusable.

Another explanation offered by the literature is that Asian-American females possess characteristics looked upon favorably by employers--diligence, docility, loyalty, etc. Though recognized as positive in job mobility, the author notes that qualities of productivity without causing trouble for management may be a liability in the long run, since they bar identity and collective actions with fellow workers in improving their conditions.

The author's basic criticisms of the sparse literature on Asian-American women's mobility in employment are its assumption of an open and competitive context and a conceptualization of improvement as involving increasing similarity with status patterns of white women and men.

Marital mobility considerations are related to the residual emphasis on women's status derived from their fathers and husbands rather than their own independent status. Thus, the literature on outmarriage of Asian-American women is relevant to the author's review of mobility studies. Generally, speculation has been that Asian-American women marry outside their group to improve their status. But empirical evidence from Los Angeles County marriage licenses indicates that Asian women, on the average, marry men, whether within or outside their groups, with lower occupational status than themselves--with the exception of Chinese women, whose Chinese grooms had higher occupational status. The social status of intermarrying grooms in Hawaii has also been shown to be low (Schmitt and Souza, 1963).

The author concludes that there are few serious studies of the social mobility of Asian-American women, and none were found using intergenerational or cohort analysis; the relevant studies are essentially descriptive with little contribution to either theory or application; Asian-American women's status, poorly conceptualized and with little attention to the context, is said to have improved over the historical span; and their mobility, like other women, is assumed to be attained through occupational achievement and/or marriage.

Rather than proposing studies of status and mobility variations among Asian-American women and their antecedent and consequent conditions or of replication of studies done on other populations, Hirata suggests a different line: a Marxist approach with explicit concern for social change through class consciousness and collective action. Such a framework could guide a program of research concerning Asian women's position in the historical development of American capitalism, in current relations to production and other segments of the population, and their role in the class struggle. Some preliminary suggestions are offered.

What circumstances in the means and organization of production contributed to the differential degree and type of use of women as cheap immigrant labor recruited in the development of the West? Labor roles of Asian-American women in the American economy historically and currently are identified as contract labor, unpaid family labor, and reproducers of the work force.

Some intriguing questions are raised from the early era of immigration about prostitution of Chinese women as a socioeconomic institution, in which they functioned under contract with a procurer for sexual services. What was their economic role in relation to their families of origin? How and whom did they profit--Chinese and non-Chinese workers who paid for their services, Chinese tongs, white police, politicians, and enterpreneurs, and employers of Chinese labor who paid insufficiently for the support of families? Incidentally, it is noted that Chinese scholarly sources, contrary to Western ones, suggest that early Chinese immigrant women came in a range of roles other than prostitute.

Small business entrepreneur and domestic and wage laborer are roles to which women have come from Asian countries and continued in their development in America. Despite the conditions for great variation among Asian groups, their class positions in relation to other American population segments, in the author's view, are more alike than different. Nonwhites and women who are small business owners are reported to have a standard of living roughly equivalent to that of the working class, but because of their hope for entrepreneurial success, they do not identify with the working class. The author proposes the importance of understanding the life-cycle of Asian American small business and women's role in it.

Since close to half of Asian-American women are primarily housewives, it is suggested that her housewife role in the U.S. economy be investigated--for example, as reproducer of the work force.

The preponderance of Asian-American women in white collar occupations, many of which share conditions with blue collar workers, suggests to the author that it would be of value to understand both their objective and subjective class positions. However, because of the large number of Asian women in the garment industry, Hirata gives priority for research on the development of working-class Asian women, their relations with shopowner manufacturers and wholesale and retail outlets.

The author concludes on the note that awareness of the imbalance of wealth, well-being, and power in the small upper strata should convince us of the futility of conventional mobility studies in understanding the problems of Asian women in America. While acknowledging the importance of equal opportunity as part of the solution, the essential task advocated is to reallocate control of resources and their distribution so there will be enough for all.

Author's Recommendations

A Marxist theoretical framework, with explicit concern for social change, is recommended. A program of research guided by such a framework might include the following:

1. What circumstances in the means and organization of production contributed to the differential degree and type of use of women as cheap immigrant labor recruited in the development of the West?
2. What was the nature of prostitution of Chinese women as a socioeconomic institution in the early era of immigration? What was their economic role and whom did they profit--their families of origin, their customers, tongs, police, politicians, entrepreneurs, and employers of Chinese labor paid insufficiently for family support?
3. Research on the life-cycle of Asian-American small business enterprises and the woman's role in it is recommended.
4. The economic role of Asian-American housewives--e.g., as reproducers of the work force, should be studied.
5. The subjective and objective class positions of Asian-American women should be investigated, especially class attitudes toward white collar compared to blue collar status.
6. Priority should be given to research on the development of Asian women in the garment industry and their relations with shopowner manufacturers and wholesale and retail outlets.

"Elderly Pacific Island and Asian-American Women: A Framework for Understanding" by Sharon M. Fujii

This paper is presented as a beginning effort to examine the characteristics and circumstances of elderly Asian-Pacific women. First, from the 1970 census, sociodemographic background characteristics of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women 65 years and over are presented. Second, historical, cultural, and developmental factors are discussed. On the basis of these, research considerations are presented.

The author notes the general absence and difficulty of access of the better research literature on Asian-Americans and Pacific Islanders, with few of these studies focusing on the elderly and almost none on elderly women. Because of the lack of systematic detailed data, it is not possible to develop a composite profile of the numerous Pacific Asian groups, nor would it be desirable in view of their great diversity.

Age data from the Census are available for only the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino groups among the Asian-Pacific populations, and the author cautions of the undercounting, especially of the elderly and non-English speaking, and the tendency to be more inclusive of the better informed.

Compared with the United States generally, the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino population over 65 constitutes a smaller proportion of their populations. The sex imbalance among the elderly reflects pre-1965 immigration policies and are striking in their differences: 43 percent female for Chinese, 18 percent for Filipinos, and 57 percent for Japanese. Over half the elderly Chinese and Japanese women are widows, similar to the national proportion. In each group, elderly women had less education than men; the Japanese women were more similar to men of their group and had several years more schooling than Chinese and Filipino women, who have half the years of schooling of elderly women nationally. Later cohorts of elderly Asian-Pacific women and men are expected to become more alike in education, but the author notes that this will not assure the ending of discrimination and equity in public programs. Labor force participation is shown to be higher for elderly Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino males than females and for both sexes of these groups than for the total U.S. elderly. But Asian women's income levels fall far below the national median level for elderly women and are half that of the men of their groups. Typically, the elderly women worked in low-paying occupations--operative, service worker, sales, laborer, clerical worker, and farmer.

Like all elderly women, Asian-Pacific women confront sexism and agism, but, in addition, bear the consequences of historical discrimination, including the infamous miner's tax, exclusion acts, alien land laws, the World War II evacuation and incarceration of the Japanese, and denial of citizenship. Their alienation from society, especially their lack of trust in government is noted.

The "model minority" image, which depicts Asian-American family and community resources as capable of taking care of those needing assistance, is viewed as an obstacle to the public acknowledgment of responsibility in the care of the elderly. The underutilization of public health and social services is not explainable by the "model minority" thesis, and the author notes the significant barriers of immigration policies, cultural and language differences, and discrimination.

Kalish and Moriwaki's "framework for understanding" elderly Asians is presented: cultural origins and early socialization, life-history in the U.S., age-related changes regardless of early socialization or ethnicity. and meanings of being old. Asian-Pacific elderly were socialized to the cultural expectation of being rewarded with respect and devoted care in old age by dutiful children, even though they themselves probably did not carry out such obligations to their parents because of emigration. But many have also accepted the American view that they should not be a burden to their children.

Traditional female sex-role differentiation and inferiority and status derivation from their husbands have made difficult the development of a positive, individual self-identity among Asian-Pacific elderly women. They have not participated in the women's movement.

The majority of Chinese and Japanese and 40 percent of the Filipino elderly women are widows. Because of their culturally prescribed dependence on and identity through their husbands, role-loss is said to be especially stressful for Asian-Pacific women.

In summary, the author proposes the following components for understanding elderly Pacific-Asian-American women: sociodemographic characteristics, immigration histories, racism and stereotypic misconceptions, cultural origins, life history in the United States, age-related changes that occur regardless of early learning or ethnicity, and expectations as to what it means to be old.

Author's Recommendations

1. Research should have direct applicability to the development and/or modification of service programs and of more equitable social and economic policies relevant to Asian-Pacific elderly women.

2. In the research design development and implementation, individuals from Asian-Pacific communities should be involved.

3. Cohorts succeeding the contemporary elderly Asian-Pacific women should be better understood as a base for education and planning for the future elderly.

4. Census data should be compiled for all Asian-Pacific populations and in greater detail for sex cohorts; also, life-expectancy rates for elderly Asian-Pacific men and women, population projections, and age-generation data.

5. Research on educational and occupational characteristics of elderly Asian-Pacific women is proposed, for example:
   a. The relationships between and among education, occupation, and income, especially during retirement, and
   b. The effects of language and cultural differences and institutional racism on educational and occupational achievement.

6. Social and health status of Asian-Pacific elderly women should be studied--i.e., their family, occupational, and ethnic community roles, changes in these, and how they differ from other women their age; widows in the various Asian-Pacific groups and their coping patterns in different age categories; perceived and actual health characteristics and their relationship.

7. Variations within and among Asian-Pacific elderly women and differences in relation to the majority population should be identified in research undertaken as well as intergenerational comparisons between the elderly and succeeding cohorts.

"Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen: Women in Triple Jeopardy" by Bok-Lim C. Kim

Two hundred thousand Asian wives of U.S. military personnel have come to the United States since the end of World War II. The paper seeks to promote awareness and understanding of their adjustment needs. For, in addition to the adaptive requirements of interfaith, interethnic, and interracial marriages, these women confront drastic changes in the move to a different context society; and few services have been developed to aid their transition. From immigration data, available studies, and casework experiences of the author and clergy, the characteristics and problems of Japanese, Korean, and Filipino wives are developed.

In general, Asian war bride marriages, being with a partner from outside the ethnic group, deviate from cultural rules--both of the bride's Asian society and the groom's American society. Despite distinct cultural and historical circumstances, many women from different Asian countries share the common experiences of war and its devastation of their normal environment, including prolonged occupation by foreign troops, severe and repeated dislocations of their countries' populations, and loss of family members through war, especially young adult males, resulting in an unfavorable sex ratio for nubile women and the shifting of family responsibilities to them. The usual means of livelihood severely curtailed by war, the U.S. military presence became virtually the only source of employment, which had far-reaching effects on the host society and possible interpersonal relationships. Whatever the origins of the contact, family/community reproach was common, though this might later have changed to support. An additional obstacle was the long and complicated procurement process for interracial marriages.

The popular image of Japanese war brides in the 1950's as involved in conflict-ridden interracial and intercultural marriages to a white American GI hero still persists. Commanding officers, chaplains, and respective peers of the couple, according to the author, generally discourage such marriages. Obtaining a passport and visa for the wife may take as long as 2 years. In sharp contrast to the security and compatibility which characterize many intermarried couples in the wife's native country, the couples face difficult problems of adjustment in the United States.

The coming of wives of U.S. servicemen from different countries has been sequential. In the 1950's were the Japanese, then the Koreans in the 1960's, followed by the Thai and Vietnamese women. The Filipino wives of American military personnel have increased steadily since the mid 1950's, a consequence of the long presence of American bases in the Philippines and the social acceptance of intermarriage.

The author cites seven studies of varied sample size and location of Asian wives of servicemen. Though hesitant to make generalizations from these studies regarding sociodemographic characteristics, she does conclude that the majority of the husbands studied were from middle- and lower-middle classes. Regarding qualitative features, however, greater consistency is noted: the absence of strong organizational and religious affiliation for both spouses, and social contacts limited to visits with the husband's family (if near) and a few other intermarried couples. DeVos, Trebilcock, and her own casework describe husbands as "loners," but the lack of social interaction of the Asian wives is viewed as a result of external circumstances such as language and lifestyle differences and inability to get around independently. Loneliness and isolation are significant features of the wives studied. In the author's view, studies which do not adequately acknowledge the enormity of the adjustments to be made and which place full responsibility for them on the Asian wives are criticized as culturally biased and insensitive, and the validity and usefulness of their findings are questioned. Trebilcock and S. Kim have developed typologies of adaptations of Korean-American couples and wives, but have not succeeded in identifying any patterns of social and personal attributes associated with them.

The author's casework and counseling of intermarried Japanese and Korean women in the United States and Korea suggest factors which combine to contribute to difficult adjustment in America: low socioeconomic background, inability to make realistic assessments of their potential mates' characteristics, and communication problems. However, with assistance, these women have shown strength and motivation in overcoming difficulties and becoming competent in their various roles in the United

States. In addition to the communication problems, loneliness, isolation, and homesickness reported in other studies, she found some cases of neglect, desertion, and physical abuse by husbands, conditions which need immediate professional intervention. The findings of Homma-True and Atienza regarding Filipino wives are consistent with the patterns of loneliness, isolation, and homesickness found in the studies of Japanese, Korean, and other Asian wives.

Points of preventive and remedial intervention are suggested in a description of problems likely to be confronted by Asian wives in America. The key role of the husband and his family in the initial orientation and support of the wife is noted. Homesickness and longing for ethnic foods among those outside metropolitan areas are reported, but most crucial is the learning of practical English. Misunderstanding and conflict between spouses, relationships with her children, developing friends, independence in getting around, and her own self-esteem are affected by the lack of English facility. Homemaking skills are also said to be desired.

The National Inquiry on Needs and Problems of Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen has reported extreme domestic violence against these women in "countless cases." Often, they are unable to convey their need or call for help. The author cautions here against the assumption that intermarried Asian wives are "inherently doomed."

A few beginning efforts to serve the needs of these women are described, several in West Coast metropolitan communities and some military bases, usually under the auspices of chaplains and volunteers. But they are said to be inadequate because of the lack of continuity, resources, and institutional support. The public's lack of awareness and insensitivity to their problems are reflected in the failure of educational and social service institutions to respond to their needs--through exclusion from budget priorities, absence of bilingual, bicultural staff, and inflexibility in the place and hours of service. The National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen, organized at the end of 1975, seeks (1) to develop communication among those concerned and disseminate information so that services can be developed, (2) to advocate the provision of services through documentation of problems and solutions and work with appropriate organizations, and (3) to function as a catalyst among groups in facilitating solutions.

Author's Recommendations

1. Systematic demographic data regarding Asian wives of U.S. servicemen should be gathered and made available to Asian-American and other social service agencies so they can develop appropriate programs of service.

2. A multilingual resource book should be developed and distributed to intermarried couples at marriage and ports of entry to the U.S. (with the possible cooperation of the

Immigration and Naturalization Service), including information regarding legal rights and responsibilities as spouse and parent, as an immigrant and/or as citizen, community health, social, and educational services, and emergency sources of aid, etc.

3. Bilingual and bicultural training and orientation classes should be made available to both spouses before and after settlement in the United States.

4. A nationwide hotline system should be developed for crisis intervention, referral, and followup services to the widely dispersed and often isolated Asian wives. An added product of such a program should be a resource book and training manual for use by local community organization professionals in work with this population.

5. Support is urged for the National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen in its search for resources and development of programs to serve those whose needs otherwise are not met.

IMMIGRATION OF ASIAN WOMEN AND THE STATUS OF RECENT ASIAN WOMEN IMMIGRANTS[1]

Canta Pian

The immigration of Asian women to the United States has been directly affected by U.S. immigration laws defining the numbers and categories of aliens permitted to enter. This paper looks at the immigration of Asian-American women in terms of two distinct periods. The early period, which extended from the late 19th century to World War II, was typified by increasingly restrictive immigration laws that excluded one Asian nationality after another. In the more recent period, immigration laws have been liberalized and no longer exclude immigrants by their country of origin but provide for preference to certain types of immigrants based on family relationships and occupational categories. The impact of these laws and the socioeconomic characteristics of some of the Asian women who have immigrated are examined.

EARLY IMMIGRATION PERIOD

The Asian pioneers who immigrated to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were predominantly males. Cultural traditions that forbade women to travel, the temporary sojourner mentality of male laborers, and restrictive immigration laws imposed by the United States prevented Asian women from initially immigrating or subsequently joining the men. A sex ratio imbalance resulted in all the subgroups, although to a lesser degree among the Japanese than among Chinese, Filipino, and Asian-Indian populations. Because many States had anti-miscegenation laws, Asian men were prohibited from marrying white women; those who were not able to marry Indian or Mexican women lived largely in "bachelor" communities. For most groups, the lack of women was responsible for failure to establish a significant second generation of Asians in the United States until the middle of the 20th century.

Chinese

Chinese laborers were the first of the Asian subgroups to immigrate to the United States in large numbers. They began arriving in the middle and late 19th century to work on railroads, in gold mines, in agriculture in the Western States, and on the sugar plantations of Hawaii. These immigrants were almost all men; the 1890 census counted 102,620 Chinese men and only 3,868 Chinese women in the United States, a ratio of 27 men to 1 woman in the population.[2] Lyman reports that many factors were responsible for this lack of women. The workers had a sojourner mentality: they left their wives in China, intending to come to America to earn enough money to return and live prosperously in China. Chinese custom required that the women remain with their in-laws in their native villages and that the emigrant, who often borrowed the money from the village to pay for transport to America, remit money regularly for support [illegible] wife, family, and the village community.[3]

Fear of Chinese economic competition led to the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act by the U.S. Congress, prohibiting the immigration of Chinese laborers and families. A Federal court ruling in 1884 specified that wives of laborers who decided to join their husbands in America would also be excluded under this law. Later laws broadened the range of Chinese workers to be excluded. Restaurant proprietors, ministers, salesmen, and clerks were also barred; only merchants, diplomats, and students and their families were exempt from exclusion.[4]

From 1905 to 1924 an average of 150 Chinese women a year managed to get in. The few women in San Francisco's Chinatown at the turn of the century were native-born Chinese women, wives of merchants, and "slave girls"/prostitutes.[5] Those who were able to immigrate either were wives of merchants or came on forged papers that identified them as wives of merchants. Occasionally, shopkeepers or even hired laborers also managed to bring in wives by bribing wealthier merchants to list their names as partners in business; thus, the numbers of Chinese women and families gradually increased.[6]

By 1920, there were 529 Chinese men to 100 Chinese women in California.[7] Four years later, the all-encompassing Immigration Act of 1924 was passed. Among its provisions, it rescinded earlier laws that would transfer a husband's citizenship to his wife. No Chinese women were allowed to enter the United States to take up permanent residence. In the 5 years that followed not a single Chinese woman entered California to live, and, in the next decade, the number of Chinese men who returned to China was greater than the number who arrived in the United States.[8] In 1930, the harsh 1924 act was revised to allow for the admission of Chinese wives of American citizens who were married prior to 1925. From 1931 to 1940, an average of 60 Chinese women entered each year.

Many men were separated from wives who remained in China for decades. Only the more affluent men could make periodic trips to China to visit their families. R. H. Lee has noted that children's ages and their number in each family accurately measured the fathers' visits, state of financial ability, and concern for their families. In every instance, separated wives had been married for years, but barely knew their husbands.[9]

Although the post-World War II immigration of Chinese women has nearly closed the gap between numbers of men and women in the Chinese-American population, a difference still exists among the elderly Chinese. In both 1960 and 1970, the census reported 14 percent more Chinese men than women 60 years old and over.[10]

Japanese

The Japanese were the second major Asian group to arrive in large numbers. The Issei (first-generation) who arrived at the beginning of the century were overwhelmingly young men who, like the Chinese, had sojourners' outlooks, intending to work in America for several years and return with their accumulated savings to their native villages. In the 1900-08 period, men immigrants outnumbered women 6 to 1.[11] Most had a farming background and came to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations or to the U.S. mainland as miners, railroad workers, fishermen, and farmers.[12]

As the number of Japanese increased on the West Coast, so did racism against them. A series of incidents led President Roosevelt to issue an executive order preventing Japanese from entering the United States from Hawaii, Mexico, or Canada and to conclude the "Gentlemen's Agreement" with the Japanese Government limiting the number of emigration passports to America that would be issued to skilled and unskilled laborers. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" did not prohibit laborers already here from sending for their wives, and, as their stays extended, many men sought wives in Japan.

Those who could afford it returned to Japan to marry. A more economical system, however, was the "picture bride" arrangement, whereby friends and relatives would arrange the marriage through an exchange of photos across the Pacific.[13] Bride and groom often met each other for the first time as the bride disembarked in San Francisco.[14] Unlike the Chinese, Lyman notes, neither custom nor law barred Japanese from bringing wives to America.[15] The so-called picture brides began arriving in America in 1910. During the second decade of the 20th century, Japanese women outnumbered male immigrants, sometimes by more than a 2 to 1 margin.[16]

In 1900, out of the total Japanese population of 24,326, there were only 985 women. In 1910, there were 9,087 women, and by 1920 there were 22,193 women out of the total population of 111,010.[17]

In 1921, pressures from the United States led Japan to discontinue the issuance of passports to the picture brides, and the 1924 Immigration Act prohibited all further immigration from Japan. Some 42.5 percent of all the Japanese males in the U.S. were thereby confined to a bachelor existence. Enough women had already entered, however, to guarantee that domestic life could be established in America.[18]

Data from the 1970 census show that today women outnumber men in the elderly Issei population by a ratio of 1.6 to 1.[19] The predominance of women reflects a number of factors--the Issei women had tended to be about 10 years younger on the average than their husbands,[20] women tend to outlive men in a normal population, and there has been some new immigration of older women from Japan in recent decades.

Koreans

Compared to the Chinese or Japanese, relatively few Koreans immigrated early in the 20th century, and most came to Hawaii. The Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association began recruiting laborers from Korea, and, until 1905, when the Korean government ended a liberal emigration policy, a total of 7,226 immigrants--6,048 men, 637 women, and 541 children--arrived in Honolulu. From 1911 to 1923, 951 Korean picture brides immigrated to Hawaii and 115 immigrated to the U.S. mainland.[21] The current immigration to the United States from Korea greatly overshadows the small numbers of Koreans who came early in this century.

Asian-Indians

The original Asian-Indian immigration to the United States, which occurred between 1904 and 1923, was a byproduct of Indian immigration to Canada. Most of the arrivals were male farmers and laborers from the Punjab, and in America they worked mostly as laborers in the lumber industeries of Washington and California.[22] Like the Chinese and Japanese before them, the Asian Indians originally came for quick economic gain, expecting to return home with enough money to buy land and live comfortably. Only a handful of Asian-Indian women were to be found in North America.[23]

In 1917, the U.S. Congress passed a sweeping Alien Exclusion Act which excluded from immigration, with few exceptions, natives of a so-called "barred zone" that included parts of China, all of India, Burma, and what are today Thailand, Malaysia, and most of the Pacific Islands. The purpose of this "barred zone" was primarily to exclude Asian-Indians and to make exclusion of Asians more complete.[24]

Filipinos

During this early period of immigration, Filipinos were the only Asian-Pacific group that was not systematically excluded from immigration to the United States. The Treaty of Paris of 1899, ending the Spanish-American War, provided for the Philippines to be ceded to the United States. The Filipinos were defined as "wards" or "nationals" of the United States; as such they needed no visas to travel to the United States.[25]

The Hawaii Sugar Planters' Association began to recruit Filipino laborers to replace depleted supplies of Chinese and Japanese laborers in 1906. Navarro points out that the association explicitly specified that recruiters look for strong, muscular men. Strength of hand grip had to be demonstrated in some cases to show muscular strength; women were usually excluded.[26] Culture also played a role in limiting female immigration. Tradition at the time forbade Filipino women to travel unchaperoned. Finally, the men also shared the sojourner's mentality: they did not plan on staying longer than the terms of their labor contract and therefore did not bring wives or fiancees. By the end of 1929, there were 88,700 men, 8,700 women, and 4,600 dependent Filipino children in Hawaii. The ratio of men to women in the adult population was 10 to 1.[27]

Agriculturalists in California were similarly looking to the Philippines for a supply of labor. Between 1920 and 1929, 29,000 men and 2,000 women were admitted to the State, a ratio of 14 to 1.[28]

In 1930, the total number of male Filipinos over 15 years of age on the U.S. mainland was 40,904, of whom 32,554 were in California; the total number of Filipino females was only 1,640 and of these only 382 were single.[29]

The economic depression during the 1930's caused a sharp decline in immigration to the United States from all countries. In 1934, with the passage of the Philippine Independence Act, only Filipinos who served in the U.S. military were eligible for U.S. citizenship. Philippine immigration was curtailed and a quota of 50 persons per year was established.

WORLD WAR II AND THEREAFTER

During World War II and afterwards, Congress began to pass a series of legislative acts to remove racial barriers and liberalize immigration and naturalization. Because of China's assistance during the war, the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1943 and an annual quota of 105 persons was established. At the end of the war, the War Brides Act of 1945, the G.I. Finance Act of 1946, and the Act of August 1946 facilitated the entrance of war brides, fiancees, and children by waiving certain visa requirements and making these groups nonquota immigrants. The Immigration and Nationality (McCarran-Walter) Act of 1952 was the first major revision of the immigration law since 1924. The 1952 act retained the national origin principle but introduced a system of selective immigration by giving preference to skilled workers and relatives of citizens and permanent residents. The act made immigration and citizenship open to all races and assigned annual quotas of 100 persons each to China, Japan, India, and the Philippines. In addition, the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 authorized the admission of 2,000 Chinese refugees.[30]

An unprecedented number of Asian women arrived in the United States in accordance with the new U.S. policy of "promoting family unity." From 1948 to 1953, almost every Chinese immigrant who disembarked at an American port or airport of entry was a young woman with or without young children in tow. For these 6 years, women averaged close to 90 percent of all Chinese immigrants.[31]

Between 1951 and 1960, more than three-fourths of the immigrants born in China, Japan, and the Philippines entered the United States under a nonquota status; most of them were wives and children of U.S. citizens.[32] This period also saw the beginning of the formation of "late families" in the Filipino population, families in which the age difference between husband and wife was 15 years or more. This phenomonon was a consequence of the older Filipino males returning to the Islands to marry. A recent study of Filipino households in Seattle, Washington, found that 37 of the 134 two-parent family households in the sample (28 percent) came under the definition of a late family. Another 39 percent of the married couples had an age difference of 11-14 years.[33]

RECENT IMMIGRATION PERIOD

The most important immigration act in recent times is the one that is essentially in effect now, the Immigration Act approved October 3, 1965 (provisions of which did not actually become effective until 1968). Table 1 shows the impact that the new act's liberalized policies have had on Asian immigration. While most immigration to the United States from Europe and the Americas occurred before the 1960's, about half of all the Asian immigrants have arrived since 1961. For Asian women the impact was greater still, since early immigration, as we have seen, was predominantly male.

Since 1968, Filipinos have been the largest Asian group immigrating to the United States, averaging some 30,000 persons per year. Though they were the third largest Asian-American population group in the 1970 census, as a result of their high rate of immigration, they may be the largest of Asian subgroups by 1980. Koreans are the second largest Asian group immigrating into the United States. Even though the rate of increase of the largest group, the Filipinos, has leveled off somewhat, the rate of increase for Koreans has continued to rise steadily. Some 28,000 Koreans immigrated to America in FY 1975. If this same rate of immigration is maintained, by 1980 the population will be more than triple the total number of Koreans reported in the 1970 census, 70,000.[34]

The highest rate of Chinese immigration for any 1 year occurred in 1967, at about the height of the cultural revolution. Since then, about 19,000 Chinese have been immigrating each year. The rate of Japanese immigration has remained low, averaging 5,000 persons per year, but with a slight increase since 1970.[35]

While the Asian-American population is clearly concentrated in certain parts of the country, the newly arriving Asian immigrants are not settling exclusively in these same areas. Some immigrants from Asia are settling in all the large cities in the most populous States in the country. Sixty-one percent of Filipino immigrants have settled in the Western part of the country. Only 53 percent of the recent Japanese immigrants and 44 percent of recent Chinese immigrants have remained in the Western part of the United States. The Koreans have had the most diffuse settlement pattern; less than a third of their population remained in the West. Among all groups, significant numbers of immigrants are to be found in the North Central part of the United States, the Northeast, and the South. Between 1960 and 1970, there has been a noticeable shift away from the West on the part of the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino populations, although that region still has by far the majority of Asian-Americans.[36]

The Immigration and Naturalization Service data show that today a majority of Asian immigrants are women. The Asian female population in this country is, as a result, growing at a faster rate than the Asian male population. In particular, among adults 20-40 years of age in the four major Asian-American groups--Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean--there are more women than men of foreign birth.[37]

TABLE 1

IMMIGRANTS TO THE U.S.*
BY CONTINENT: 1881 to 1975

		Asia*	Europe	The Americas	All other
1881-1900					
	Number	144,800	8,290,800	465,900	17,700
	%	7.1	30.7	6.1	7.1
1901-1920					
	Number	570,800	12,377,900	1,505,600	42,300
	%	27.9	45.9	19.8	17.0
1921-1940					
	Number	128,100	2,810,700	1,676,800	19,800
	%	6.3	10.4	22.1	8.0
1941-1950					
	Number	32,400	621,100	354,800	26,600
	%	1.6	2.3	4.7	10.7
1951-1960					
	Number	150,100	1,325,600	996,900	42,800
	%	7.3	4.9	13.1	17.2
1961-1970					
	Number	427,800	1,123,400	1,716,400	54,200
	%	20.9	4.2	22.6	21.8
1971-1975					
	Number	590,200	422,200	878,000	45,800
	%	28.9	1.6	11.6	18.4
Total					
	Number	2,044,200	26,971,700	7,594,400	249,200
	%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Includes East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, and the Middle East. Figures are misleading in that they do not show that substantial numbers of Asians also left the U.S. because of racist policies against Asians.

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Report.

A breakout of the data on immigrants by sex for specific countries in the Asian-Pacific areas (tables 2 and 3) shows that except for the Asian-Indian and Burmese populations, the percentage of women immigrating is higher than the percentage of men. This imbalance is particularly noticeable among the Japanese, Vietnamese, and Thai populations. On the other hand, the percent of all immigrants who are women is declining in many of these populations, but growing in the Asian-Indian and Burmese populations.

Very little data and few studies shed any light on the immigration and subsequent migration patterns of Pacific Island populations. Because of the territorial status of American Samoa and Guam, the two largest nonnative Pacific Island populations in the United States, data on the numbers of persons migrating from these islands to the U.S. mainland are not kept by the Immigration and Naturalization Service or by the Census Bureau. Apparently many Samoan and Guamanian men have arrived here while serving in the U.S. military, and they were joined later by family members.[38] Preliminary data from a survey of 121 Samoan households in the greater Los Angeles area show that most Samoans arrived after 1950 and that the rate of migration has increased since the latter half of the 1960's.[39]

TABLE 2

RECENT IMMIGRATION BY SEX, 1950-1975

Fiscal years	Chinese		Asian Indian		Filipino		Japanese		Korean		Pacific Islander*	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1950-55												
Total number	3,329	6,663	523	242	1,624	4,740	1,805	13,874	185	486	82	134
Sex ratio	33.3	66.7	68.4	31.6	25.5	74.5	11.5	88.5	27.6	72.4	38.0	62.0
1956-60												
Total number	10,609	11,862	1,360	647	3,256	7,267	4,609	25,231	1,488	3,529	489	508
Sex ratio	47.2	52.8	67.8	32.2	30.9	69.1	15.4	84.6	29.7	70.3	49.0	51.0
1961-65												
Total number	10,470	13,503	1,992	1,383	5,420	10,296	3,034	16,393	2,223	7,813	778	1,008
Sex ratio	43.7	56.3	59.0	41.0	34.5	65.5	15.6	84.4	22.1	77.9	43.6	56.4
1966-70												
Total number	47,873	50,114	16,725	11,134	36,560	49,076	4,812	14,583	7,846	17,772	1,676	2,077
Sex ratio	48.9	51.1	60.0	40.0	42.7	57.3	24.8	75.2	30.6	69.4	44.7	55.3
1971-75												
Total number	50,564	56,556	38,443	34,469	61,152	92,102	7,028	16,781	44,224	68,269	3,780	3,984**
Sex ratio	47.2	52.8	52.7	47.3	40.0	60.0	29.5	70.5	39.3	60.7	49.0	51.0

*Includes persons from Fiji, Pacific Islands, Tonga, and Western Samoa; does not include persons from American Samoa, Guam, or Tahiti.

**Sex ratio estimated.

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports.

TABLE 3

IMMIGRATION FROM SELECTED COUNTRIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA 1966-1975

Fiscal years	Vietnamese		Thai		Burmese	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1966-70						
Total number	725	3,063	846	3,514	919	823
Sex ratio	19.1	80.9	19.4	80.6	52.8	47.2
1971-75						
Total number	3,430	12,820	5,207	15,924	1,933	1,881
Sex ratio	21.1	78.9	24.6	75.4	50.7	49.3

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service: Annual Reports and unpublished data.

Data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service show that there has been an increase in the proportions of immigrants from other Pacific Islands such as Fiji, Tonga, and Eastern Samoa. Just over half of these immigrants have been women.

Many factors may cause a higher proportion of women. The sex ratio of immigrants to the United States is gratly affected by the differing presence of personnel and military bases overseas. This variation accounts not only for a large percentage of war brides, women who have married American soldiers stationed overseas, but also for the immigration of more young single women than men because the latter are required to serve several years of compulsory military duty. In Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and preunified South Vietnam, young men of military age were prohibited from leaving the country until they had fulfilled their military service obligations.

There are several different types of recent female immigrant populations: women professionals and students, wives and other relatives of earlier immigrants, and wives of American soldiers. Before looking at these populations, a discussion of the current immigration law and the various categories under which Asian women are permitted to enter is warranted.

CURRENT IMMIGRATION LAW

The 1965 act was written with three objectives: to unify families, to admit workers with certain needed skills, and to provide asylum to some refugees, particularly those from Communist countries. The act abolished previous quota systems which had been based on national origins and established two basic categories of immigrants, a large group which was subject to numerical limitation and a smaller group comprised largely of immediate relatives and special immigrants who were not subject to numerical limitations. Persons who fall under this latter category include children, spouses, or parents of United States citizens. Also included are ministers and employees of the U.S. Government or U.S. companies abroad and their families. In FY 1975, only 16 percent of all immigrants to the United States came under a category not subject to numerical limitations.[40]

TABLE 4

EASTERN HEMISPHERE IMMIGRATION PREFERENCE CATEGORIES

Preference(P)	Definition	Percent	Numerical limit
First	Unmarried sons and daughters of U.S. citizens	20	34,000
Second	Spouses and unmarried sons and daughters of alien permanent residents	20	34,000 plus unused numbers from P1
Third	Professionals and scientists and artists of exceptional ability	10	17,900
Fourth	Married sons and daughters of U.S. citizens	10	17,000 plus numbers unused by P1-P3
Fifth	Brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens	24	40,800 plus numbers unused by P1-P4
Sixth	Skilled and unskilled workers in occupations for which there is a U.S. labor shortage	10	17,000
Seventh	Refugees	6	10,200
Total		100%	170,000

Source: Kenneth H. David and William L. King, Review and Analysis of Problems of Recent Immigrants in Hawaii, Office of Social Resources, City and County of Honolulu, Hawaii, 1972.

The 1965 act established an annual quota of 170,000 persons who could enter from the Eastern Hemisphere (Europe, Asia, and Africa) under the numerically limited category. Within the 170,000 person limit,[41] the number of immigrants from any single country could not exceed 20,000 persons, while the limitation for foreign dependencies such as Hong Kong was limited to 200 persons.[42]

The quota immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere are further limited to seven preference categories, four of which provide for the reunion of families, two of which are based on occupational background, and one of which is for refugees. Specifically, the seven preference categories are shown in table 4.

The preference categories are weighted so that the overall number of immigrants to the United States under any one preference category may not exceed a certain percentage of the total immigrants that year. For example, the number of U.S. immigrant visas issued under the third preference category, members of the professions, or the sixth preference category, skilled or unskilled workers, may not exceed 10 percent each of the total 170,000 quota.[43] In other words, in any one year, immigrant visas may not be awarded to more than 17,000 persons from the Eastern Hemisphere under each of these preference categories.

The preference system is complicated; some categories are perpetually oversubscribed while others are virtually ignored. Certain categories have facilitated immigration from certain countries and by certain classes of immigrants. For many years, the large number of third preference visas issued to Filipino professionals and their families, together with some first and second relative-based preference categories, used up all the available visa numbers and no visas were available below third preference.[44]

As Boyd notes, the regulations mean that immigration from Asia now reflects the interaction of such factors as the 20,000 persons per country limit, the skill levels of would-be immigrants, and the extent to which emigrants from Asian countries have relatives already residing in the United States.[45] The sex of the immigrants is also affected by the above factors, as well as by the incentives to migrate, which are less easy to measure.

Unfortunately, an analysis of all these factors in relation to the immigration of Asian women is hampered by the fact that data on the immigrants by classification of entry are not tabulated by sex in the Immigration and Naturalization Service's annual reports. By looking at the characteristics of the total immigrating population and the characteristics of some women known to be immigrants, one can only infer some general conclusions about the women who are immigrating. Monica Boyd, perhaps more than any other single researcher, has analyzed the recent immigration of Asian manpower to America. The following section draws heavily on her analyses.

There is considerable variation in the admission categories that are subscribed to extensively by different Asian subgroups. Boyd identifies a family chain-migration pattern by which an immigrant first migrates to the United States to fill manpower demand and is then followed by a chain of family members. Only Chinese and Japanese immigration prior to World War II was substantial enough to induce further immigration based on family and kinship ties. Following the 1965 Immigration Act, 40 to 58 percent of immigrants chargeable to the numerical limitations of China or Japan entered the United States under the five relative or family member preference categories. A high proportion of recent immigrants from the Philippines also entered under the relative preference system, although the occupational preference categories have also facilitated immigration. In contrast, persons chargeable to India and Korea entered primarily through the occupational preference categories, with a strong movement of professional manpower.[46] That some chain migration of relatives is beginning to occur, however, is suggested by a recent upswing in the proportion of persons entering under relative preference categories, particularly under the second preference category based upon family ties to permanent residents, rather than to citizens.

The historical movement of unskilled laboring manpower from China and Japan in the beginning of the century has been replaced by the movement of skilled professional manpower from India, Korea, and the Philippines today, in keeping with changed manpower requirements of the United States.

The larger proportion of women in many of the immigrant populations, Boyd suggests, is characteristic of both the chain-migration pattern of family reunification and formation and the presence of "war brides" who have intermarried with American soldiers. However, not all of the initial immigrants who begin the chain-migration pattern are men. Many of the immigrants entering under occupational preference criteria from Korea and the Philippines are women, although data are not available to determine their proportion.

Data on the total of women immigrants who enter as professionals cannot be determined from INS statistics. Intended occupations of immigrants are not available by sex in the annual reports, and the summaries of occupational data which are published are composites of two possibly very different occupational distributions that characterize men and women immigrants. Evidence suggests that the occupational qualifications of married immigrant women tend to be ignored when a husband and wife seek admission together. Even if both have a professional background, the occupation of the wife might be ignored, and she would be classified as a housewife.[47]

The Department of Labor recently conducted a longitudinal study of immigrants from all countries which indicates that the bulk of those who moved into the labor force after arrival were women who had been identified as housewives in their visa applications. The contributions made by immigrant workers and their impact on the labor market have been understated by as much as 20 percent, the study estimated, with women making the most difference.[48]

The undercount of women intending to be employed is likely to misrepresent the Asian population even further, as data on the labor participation rate of Asian-American women, both native-born and immigrant, in the Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino populations in 1970 were considerably higher than the labor force participation rate of all women in the U.S. population at that time.[49] At that time 55 percent of Filipinos, 50 percent of Chinese women and 49 percent of Japanese women were in the labor force, compared to 41 percent of all U.S. women.

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

Studies of Filipinos show that many women immigrants are professionals, suggesting that at least in that population, the pioneer member of the family to emigrate is not always the man. The so-called "brain drain" phenomenon includes women's brains. Cortes' study of migration of 254 U.S.-educated Filipino professionals found that single and younger women migrated to the United States much more than men of the same status and age.[50] Pian's analysis of 1970 census data shows a direct relationship between the proportions of foreign-born Filipinos and those professionally employed. Outside of Hawaii and California, the populations are primarily new immigrant Filipinos, where 55 percent of women are employed in professional occupations.[51]

INS data do not permit us to determine the detailed professional backgrounds or present occupations of Filipino women immigrants. A large number, however, are likely to work in the health field, particularly as nurses. Cordova and Lee's survey of 180 Asian health professionals in the Seattle area determined that nearly 80 percent of the sample were women, many of them nurses, although sample selection procedures may have preselected this population.[52]

Many Filipino women apparently immigrated to find employment opportunities. Asperilla's study of Filipina nurses in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago found that they had come to the United States to gain the opportunity for professional and personal growth, the chance for better remuneration, and the opportunity to travel and see places.[53]

Morales notes that during the sixties, women in the Philippines achieved many influential positions in education and politics. The number of women doctors and pharmacists increased three times and women dentists doubled.[54] At the same time, the economy of the Philippines could not effectively absorb all its health professionals. The income differential is one of the strongest factors influencing migration: salaries of nurses in the United States are two to three times higher than in the Philippines. The value is increased six times when the dollars are remitted to the Philippines.[55]

Once here, however, many women encounter language barriers and restrictive licensing and hiring practices, and they accept employment in a range of lower skilled clerical, service, or factory jobs, rather than in the professions for which they were trained.[56]

Less research has been done on the professional women in other Asian-American groups. Kim and Condon's study of Asian-American immigrants in Chicago found that among the Korean and Filipino groups, women and men were equally represented in the professional category, with women being slightly more numerous. In contrast, the number of women professionals in the sample Chinese and Japanese populations was far lower.[57]

OTHER WOMEN IMMIGRANTS

While attention has been focused on the immigrants with a professional background, less is known about the other women in the immigrant population, those who do not have a professional background. An update of Boyd's analysis of the classifications by which Asian immigrants are being admitted (see table 5), shows that save in the Filipino population in the last few years, the majority of immigrants have been admitted under either the immediate family, nonpreference category, or relative preference categories.

While a certain proportion of skilled, highly trained persons immigrates under a relative preference category, Sung suggests that, at least among the Chinese, those who immigrate as relatives of former immigrants tend to have a lower educational and socioeconomic background. By and large, they do not speak as much English and have great difficulty accommodating themselves to life in the United States.[58]

TABLE 5

ASIAN IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED BY CATEGORY, 1973-1975

	All immigrants	China	India	Japan	Korea	Philippines	Thailand	Burma
Total number	485,627	54,625	39,058	6,365	55,066	58,073	4,402	1,898
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Relative preference (sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters of U.S. citizens and permanent residents, and spouses of permanent residents)	58	59	38	45	58	52	36	53
Occupational preference	17	10	28	23	20	48	14	11
3rd (professionals)	5	2	12	2	6	21	6	4
6th (other workers)	4	3	5	13	3	-	4	2
Spouses and children	9	5	12	9	11	26	5	6
Conditional (refugees)	6	11	-	-	-	-	-	5
Nonpreference (spouses, parents, and children of U.S. citizens, ministers, and former U.S. employees)	19	21	4	31	22	-	49	34

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service annual reports (adapted from Monica Boyd, "The Changing Nature of Central and Southeast Asian Immigration to the United States: 1961-1972" in International Migration Review 8, No. 4 (Winter, 1974): 489-519.

TABLE 6

REASONS GIVEN FOR IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES BY FOREIGN-BORN RESPONDENTS IN CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

	Korean immigrants		Filipino immigrants		Japanese immigrants*		Chinese immigrants*		Totals	
Reasons for immigration	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Join family	7.2	39.1	9.5	11.7	25.8	42.4	23.2	25.0	14.0	26.7
Educational opportunity	35.5	13.4	10.0	17.4	15.0	1.1	10.7	8.8	20.7	12.8
Job training opportunity	5.9	6.1	23.1	22.1	9.7	-	6.5	8.8	13.6	12.9
Higher standard of living	21.0	16.8	15.6	15.5	19.3	9.4	17.3	19.2	19.1	15.9
Better work opportunity	17.7	13.4	25.7	24.0	16.1	1.1	28.0	18.0	23.1	17.5
Education of children	4.3	6.7	3.0	0.3	-	-	0.5	0.6	1.3	3.4
Adventure/make fortune	1.6	1.7	2.2	5.1	10.7	4.7	-	-	2.6	3.1
To get married	-	0.6	0.3	0.6	1.1	37.6	-	2.5	0.2	5.7
To avoid adverse political situation in home country	6.4	2.2	4.1	3.2	2.2	-	7.1	7.0	5.1	3.8
Number of responses**	186	179	315	316	93	85	168	156	762	736

*Includes naturalized citizens.
**Multiple responses could be given; number of responses does not correspond with sample size.

Source: Bok-Lim C. Kim and Margaret E. Condon, A Study of Asian Americans in Chicago: Their Socio-Economic Characteristics, Problems and Service Needs: Final Report 1975 (Adaptation of Table 3.301).

According to Bernard, when women are equally represented or predominant in a migrant group, the adjustment process is different in many respects from what it is when the males greatly outnumber the females. Family life is generally more stable; birthrate is higher. The cultural pattern of the particular group is retained to a higher degree, resulting in more cultural pluralism. On the other hand, the women are not as frequently active in the labor force and are usually slower in learning the new language and in acculturating in general.[59]

There can be a complex of reasons, some "expulsive" in nature and some "attractive," that cause migrants to leave the homeland and resettle elsewhere. The primary motives of nonprofessional women entering under a relative preference category may be less economic in origin. Kim and Condon's study of Asian immigrant families in Chicago suggests that men and women and the different subgroups are characterized by different motives for emigrating. The major reason for immigration given by the Asian sample included: educational opportunities, joining family, higher standards of living, and work opportunities (see table 6). Korean women outnumbered the men in stating "join family" as the major reason for immigrating, while the men more frequently listed "educational opportunity" as the reason for the move. In the Filipino group, both men and women listed job training opportunity and better work opportunity as the major reasons for immigrating. A higher proportion of Japanese women than men cited "came to marry" and "to join family" as reasons for immigrating.[60]

In his "non-scientifically" selected sample of 700 Chinese immigrants residing in New York, Bernard found that correlations for age and sex show that older migrants of both sexes stressed family reunion. Younger men predominantly wanted job opportunities. Young to middle-aged parents of both sexes wanted better educational possibilities for their children. Political reasons were persuasive across age lines, though more characteristic of men than women.[61]

A survey of 43 Samoan families living in the Kalihi Valley Housing Project in Hawaii found that 28 of the families (65 percent) reported that the education of their children was their main reason for immigrating to Hawaii. The distribution of the respondents by sex was not provided.[62]

North and Weissert have noted in their study of immigrants in the U.S. labor force that immigrant women are more likely than the rest of the female population to be in the labor market at any age, and in any marital status.[63] They did not speculate as to what factors, motivational, economic, or cultural, caused these immigrant women to participate so extensively in the labor market. The studies that have been done of Asian women immigrants largely support this finding, with the possible exception of the Samoan women.

TABLE 7

WOMEN'S OCCUPATIONS

	Women employed U.S. 1970	Employed Chinese women immigrating 1965-1970
Professional & managerial	19%	22%
Sales & clerical	42%	20%
Crafts & operatives	16%	37%*
Laborers, service, farm	22%	21%

*Only 2% are in the craftsmen category.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Report: National Origin and Language, PC(2)-1A.

A comparison of the occupational profile of all women in the U.S. population and Chinese women who immigrated between 1965 and 1970 shows that there is clearly a predominance of recently arrived Chinese women in the craftsmen/operative occupations, which include the sewing machine operators in garment factories. Altogether 58 percent of the recently immigrating Chinese women were in blue-collar occupations, primarily as semiskilled and unskilled workers, while 38 percent of all women in the work force were in these categories (see table 7). The pattern among Chinese women, as Sung has noted, is for foreign-born or poorly educated women to go into the garment factories or food service work.[64]

The larger proportion of Chinese women in the operative category appears to be drawn largely from the population that normally would be in the white collar (sales and clerical occupational) category. The proportion of women in professional positions and largely unskilled, laborer, service, farm categories do not deviate as much from the U.S. norm.

Several studies have been done on the substandard working conditions of the garment factories, where women work long hours for very low wages. The factories continue to draw women because they lack other opportunities, hours are flexible, and knowledge of English is not required.[65]

The pattern also exists to some extent in other immigrant populations. Because of their lack of English ability, most new arrivals seek employment in central city areas where low wages and long hours often prevail. Such employment, while providing the immigrant with some means of support, may actually militate against chances of entering the general labor market. The newcomer, whether man or woman, becomes locked into a system which limits contacts with English-speaking persons, requires long hours for subsistence, and leaves little time to upgrade skills through participation in English and vocational education classes.[66]

Preliminary unedited data from HEW's Asian American Field Survey show that women in a Korean immigrant sample in Los Angeles tend to be concentrated in semiskilled and unskilled blue-collar occupations, like the Chinese. The overall labor force participation rate of the women in 208 sample Korean households in L.A. was, at 58 percent, greater than the rate for the total female population of Los Angeles. The labor participation rate for all married women with children in the sample was 63 percent, compared to the 39 percent norm for the city. Two-thirds of the working Korean women was employed in lower status blue-collar jobs; 60 percent of them were employed as machine operatives, mostly in garment and bead factories. There was also a slightly higher than average proportion of women in managerial and administrative positions, most of them self-employed managers of small retail shops such as wig shops and beauty salons.

Some 164 Filipino households in San Francisco were surveyed in the same DHEW study. Most of the young families were recent immigrants. Fully 70 percent of the married women with children under 18 years of age and 75 percent of the married women with children under 6 years of age in that sample were in the labor force. Although more than a quarter of the women (29 percent) had a college education, only 4.1 percent were in high status white-collar jobs (professional, technical, managerial, or administrative occupations). Of the employed women 76 percent were either in clerical occupations or in service occupations. The latter included hotel workers, health service workers, janitorial workers, and private household workers.

Samoan women appear to be an exception to the generally high labor force participation pattern of Asian women. The results of the 1971 Survey of Oahu Samoans in Hawaii indicated that only 32 percent of the women over 18 were employed.[67] Preliminary unedited data from the Asian American Field Survey show that only 33 percent of the Samoan women 16 years old and over in 161 greater Los Angeles sample households were in the labor force, compared to the 46 percent norm for the total female population in the area. Only 36 percent of the 18 to 64 year-old Samoan women were in the work force, compared with a high 53 percent of all women in that age group in that area who were.

North and Weissert found a very high correlation between success in the labor market and ability to speak English.[68] Indeed, most studies of Asian immigrants find English language difficulty the most important problem.[69]

Research suggests that the ethnic background of the immigrants is related to how frequently they reported language to be an immediate concern and perhaps to the degree of difficulty they experience in learning English.[70] The concentration of the ethnic population and the degree to which the immigrant comes into contact with the majority English-speaking society in her daily life affects the rate at which English is acquired. One Korean woman's account suggests that women, particularly nonworking mothers, have suffered from the language barrier more acutely than men, working women, and students, because of their severely limited opportunity for contact outside the home in the total American society.[71] The degree to which Asian women have a harder time learning English than men, because of differing life patterns, deserves investigation.

In the section below two special groups of Asian women immigrants are discussed: Vietnamese refugees and Asian wives of U.S. servicemen.

VIETNAMESE REFUGEES

While the Vietnamese refugees are not the first refugees from Asia to seek asylum in the United States, the fall of South Vietnam and the subsequent evacuation of nearly 130,000 Vietnamese refugees and about 5,000 Cambodian refugees represents the largest entry of refugees from Asia at any single time.[72] The increase of the Vietnamese-American population as a result of the evacuation has raised this population in size to be the 5th or 6th largest Asian-American population in the United States.[73]

Statistics from the INS alien address report indicate that just under half (49.3 percent) of the refugees are female. The age and sex composition of this population differs markedly from the small number of Vietnamese immigrants who had arrived before the end of the war (see table 8). Whereas the earlier immigrants were predominantly Asian wives of U.S. servicemen and their children, as evidenced by the high proportion of women and low proportion of men, the refugee population was a balanced one with equal proportions of men and women.

TABLE 8

VIETNAMESE AND CAMBODIANS BY AGE AND SEX

Vietnamese immigrants FY 1971-1975				Vietnamese evacuees of April 1975			
		Male	Female			Male	Female
Total number		3,434	11,782	Total number		57,919	56,221
	%	100.0	100.0		%	100.0	100.0
Age at entry				Age at entry			
Under 5	Number	1,680	1,785	0-5	Number	8,250	8,319
	%	48.2	15.2		%	14.2	14.8
5-9	Number	839	779	6-11	Number	8,485	8,269
	%	24.2	6.6		%	14.7	14.7
10-19	Number	434	1,365	12-17	Number	7,824	7,487
	%	12.6	11.6		%	13.5	13.3
20-29	Number	267	6,043	18-24	Number	11,365	9,476
	%	7.8	51.3		%	19.6	16.9
30-39	Number	110	1,435	25-34	Number	10,613	10,212
	%	3.2	12.2		%	18.3	18.2
40-49	Number	49	268	35-44	Number	5,481	5,115
	%	1.4	2.3		%	9.5	9.1
50-59	Number	34	68	45-62	Number	4,046	4,175
	%	1.0	0.6		%	7.0	7.4
60 and over	Number	21	39	63 and over	Number	1,857	3,168
	%	0.6	0.3		%	3.2	5.6

Source: U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Annual Reports and HEW, Refugee Task Force, Report to Congress, June 1976.

Figures from the DHEW Refugee Task Force indicated that there were about 13,000 males and 3,000 females who comprised single person households in the Vietnamese refugee population. There were more women in families. Twenty-three percent of the refugee households were headed by women.[74] Results from the DHEW Task Force's Vietnamese Resettlement Operational Feedback Wave II survey in December 1975 indicated that at that time, 40 percent of the adult women were in the labor force, a slight increase from a survey taken 3 months earlier.[75]

In her study of refugees who had settled in the State of Maryland, Cheung found some reports of marital strains in refugee families caused by the fact that it has been easier for women to find employment. Women have been more willing to accept low status jobs.[76]

In the spring of 1976, a strategy to focus remaining resources for the refugees on job development activities, English language training, and vocational and occupational education was initiated.[77] Because of the unique historical and political events which surrounded the Vietnam War, this population is likely to continue to be more closely scrutinized than any other Asian immigrant group. Future studies on the adaptation of this population group, given its unique circumstances and resources, compared to adaptation of other Asian-American immigrant populations, are warranted.

ASIAN WIVES OF U.S. SERVICEMEN

According to data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service Annual Reports, over 200,000 women from Asia have immigrated to the United States as wives of American citizens since the end of World War II. Many are Asian women married to white or black American servicemen who had been overseas.[78]

The first large group of Asian wives of U.S. servicemen were Japanese women who met and married Americans during the U.S. occupation of Japan in the 1950's. Evidence of this immigration exists today in that the sex ratio of Japanese-Americans between 35 and 44 is 1.7 women to 1 man, and 46 percent of all married women in the age group are married to non-Japanese men.[79]

Since that time, Asian wives have immigrated primarily from Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and more recently from Thailand, Vietnam, and Taiwan. As Bok-Lim Kim has noted, it is difficult to keep track of these women because they are widely scattered and there has been little, if any, communication between their family and their community of national origin.[80]

There is evidence that many such Asian wives suffer from a variety of problems because of the cultural differences and communication problems that arise between them and their husbands.[81] Separated from their culture and friends, many wives apparently experience acute isolation and sense of loss. Asian wives who had been self-directing may become helpless and dependent. Sizable numbers of Asian wives have been subjected to severe physical abuse and privation in addition to experiencing adjustment problems.[82]

A survey of 137 Asian wives in the Seattle area, most of whom were Korean and Japanese, found a wide age spread in the population. The women ranged from their twenties to their fifties. Over a fifth of the women surveyed were separated or divorced from their husbands. In general, the Asian wives surveyed had had less education than most Asian-American women, and fewer were in the labor force; 60 percent of the sample had had less than a high school education and the mean education was 7.6 years. More than half of the women had difficulty communicating in English. Only 38 percent of the wives and ex-wives in the Seattle sample were employed,[83] many in entertainment or unskilled jobs.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Women immigrants who have been admitted under an occupational preference should be able to practice in the occupational classification for which they have been given admission preference. Many new immigrants have had previous professional training but are unable to apply it because of restrictive licensing practices. Research should investigate alternatives to present procedures, such as: use of equivalent and proficiency exams; Federal certification and licensing and national qualifying boards, to establish national standards (foreign medical graduates should receive reciprocity of licensure on the same basis as graduates of American medical schools); abolition of unnecessary residency and citizenship requirements; and provision of national temporary certifications. There is a need for a process to evaluate the experience and education that the immigrant women already have and the levels they have reached elsewhere, and to translate those results into American equivalents.[84] Where additional education or training is needed, internship programs or other transitional programs should be established.

2. Many studies indicate that the labor force participation rate and/or level of job Asian immigrants hold is related to English language proficiency. At the same time, acquisition of English may take longer for those women who do not choose or are unable to participate in the labor force. Two types of adult English language classes should be provided: job-related English and English needed for daily functioning in the United States. Methods should be bilingual/bicultural, since studies suggest that the attrition rate of persons studying under ESL programs has been higher.[85]

3. Studies have shown that immigrants lack information about and underutilize services that are available to them. An

interagency study of the needs of immigrants during their first few years in the United States is needed. Some immigrant and newcomer multiservice centers have been developed in places like Hawaii and San Francisco and for special groups like the Vietnamese refugees. These efforts should continue to be supported and other models should be established and supported in other communities to provide orientation, outreach, information and referral services, and access to a variety of community-based, educational, manpower, health, and social services. Those cities that are the "Asian Gateway Cities" should be funded under separate legislation to defray the extra burden that falls on them.

4. Many groups of women immigrants clearly need adult English language and vocational education classes to upgrade them from the semiskilled and low-skilled occupations in which they are currently working. Programs are needed to assess the language ability, occupational skills, and educational background of Asian women immigrants. Programs for the women should include a realistic appraisal of each immigrant's employment opportunities, and should take into consideration training for areas of expanding employment opportunties, personal aptitudes and interests, and provision of supportive services like child care and bilingual vocational counseling.

5. Although some Asian immigrant groups have tended to settle in ethnic communities where they have been able to utilize the established ethnic community resources in their adjustment to U.S. society, other groups live in areas where they are isolated from others of their own ethnic group. The effect of these differential patterns in terms of adjustment and adjustment patterns needs to be researched. Processes to reach and assist those who are relatively isolated during their adjustment period need to be developed.

RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Questionable methodologies and sampling biases aside, the greatest weakness in the accumulated locally developed studies done on Asian immigrants is the consistent failure to tabulate separately by sex the statistics on employment status, educational status, reasons for emigrating, and major problems that must be addressed. The few studies which have been done indicate that there are important differences in responses by sex.

2. Because of their exceptionally high participation in the work force, immigrant Asian women play a major role in their family's economic well-being. Yet immigration statistics fail to identify the separate characteristics of men and

women immigrants and undercalculate the contributions of married women. There is a need for better baseline data on women immigrants from Asia in terms of educational background, skills, socioeconomic characteristics, and expectations.

3. There continues to be a lack of information on the Samoan, Guamanian, and other Pacific Island populations in the United States in terms of their numbers and rate of migration to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland. There are data to indicate that these groups tend to be, and continue to be, the poorest, least educated of Asian immigrants. Future studies of these populations also should not fail to look at critical variables about these populations by sex.

4. Apparently, given people of comparable backgrounds, women are more willing to shift downward and work at a lower level job. A study is needed to confirm this and determine if the underemployment problem, which is serious for all Asian immigrants, is even worse for Asian women than it is for Asian men.

5. Some research on why Asian and other immigrant women participate in the labor force at a higher rate than the rest of the female population is warranted. How much are factors such as economic necessity, cultural values, or a pioneering spirit involved?

6. Despite the generally high participation rate in the labor force, there exists a large proportion of Asian women in the United States who do not work. In some populations like the Samoans and war brides, this is apparently particularly true. It would be useful to determine if factors such as lack of English, lack of education, lack of child care, and lack of job skills are preventing these women from entering the labor force, or if they in fact prefer their role of devoting themselves to care of their families and homemaking.

7. It would be useful to determine how the adjustment process of Asian women differs from the adjustment process of Asian men. Are they less able to acquire the English language? Are they more isolated and do they therefore require more support from the ethnic community? What are the adjustment differences between men and women as a result of their differing life patterns and contacts with the majority society? Are the particular problems of the women being neglected; how can they be resolved?

8. Similarly, while lack of English language facility is one of the most often cited problems of immigrants, not enough is

known about the process of acquiring language skills. Are there differences among subgroups because of previous exposure to English or properties of the original Asian languages that render English language acquisition more difficult for some groups than for others? Would language courses for Asian women require additional per capita costs?

9. The study of Asian immigration and adjustment to American life is fundamentally the study of how men and women adapt through time. Single-shot cross-sectional research may be adequate for generating and refining hypotheses, but definitive research on the speed and scope of adjustment to change will require longitudinal studies of sample populations.[86]

10. The history of early Asian immigration is marked with racism and exclusion. Current attitudes toward immigration by both Asian women and Asian men will affect their adjustment and mobility in society. Research is needed to determine what current stereotypes of Asian women there are and how they affect their lives and the future of the next generation of the ethnic group.

11. Some studies suggest that different types of Asian women immigrate, those who come primarily to join their families and those who come independently primarily for job opportunities and a higher standard of living. If there are indeed different types of women who immigrate, research to probe their characteristics and eventual adjustment to this society is warranted.

12. While early Asian immigration was primarily initiated by Asian men, there is evidence that in some subgroups like the Filipinos, there is a sizable population of single women who immigrate. Changes in Asian society and women's emancipation in Asia might be a factor. On the other hand, lack of appropriate economic opportunities for women in Asia might instead be a factor. Further study of the push/pull factors that motivate single women to migrate would add to current knowledge about the status of Asian-American women.

NOTES

[1] This paper was developed while the author was a staff member of Rj Associates, Inc. of Arlington, Va., and she is indebted to that organization for its support in this effort. Special thanks are extended to Roslyn D. Kane, president of Rj, for her review and valuable suggestions on this paper, and to Incha Kim of the support staff at Rj for her expert typing of the draft text and tables.

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[38] Asian American Studies Center, *Contacts and Conflicts: The Asian Immigration Experience*, University of California at Los Angeles; and Faye Munoz, "Pacific Islanders, a Perplexed, Neglected Minority" in *Church and Society* 64, No. 3 (Jan.-Feb. 1974), pp. 15-23.

[39] Based on preliminary unedited run of data from the 1973 HEW Asian American Field Survey.

[40] U.S. Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, *Annual Report*, Washington, D.C.

[41] As defined, the number of immigrants in any one year includes not only those who have received a visa to enter the United States as a permanent resident, but also those already physically present in the United States who obtain a change in their visa from an alien status (student, temporary visitor, or diplomat) to an immigrant status.

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[50] Josefina Cortes, "Factors Associated with the Outflow of High-Level Philippine Manpower to the U.S.A." in *Proceedings of Conference on International Migration from the Philippines, 10-14 June, 1974*. East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1974: pp. 17-18.

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[52] Dorothy Cordova, and Ick-Whan Lee, "A Study of Problems of Asian Health Professionals," Demonstration Project for Asian Americans, Seattle, WA, 1975.

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[56] The underemployment problem of Asian women professionals is discussed in other papers presented in this conference and will not be elaborated here. See also U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *A Dream Unfulfilled Korean and Pilipino Health Professionals in California*, California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C., 1975; and Cordova and Lee, *op. cit.*

[57] Bok-Lim C. Kim, and Margaret E. Condon, *A Study of Asian Americans in Chicago: Their Socio-Economic Characteristics, Problems and Service Needs*, National Institute of Mental Health, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 1975.

[58] Sung, *op. cit.*

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[62] Kenneth H. David, and William M. King, *The Immigration Study: Review and Analysis of Problems of Recent Immigrants in Hawaii*, August 1972.

[63] North and Weissert, *op. cit.*

[64] Sung, *op. cit.*

[65] For studies of the substandard working conditions in garment factories see: Pegg Li, Buck Wong, and Fong Kwan "Garment Industry in Los Angeles Chinatown 1973-74" (Working Papers on Asian American Studies, No. 57)

Asian American Studies Center, University of California at Los Angeles, June 1975; Dean Lan, "The Chinatown Sweatshops: Oppression and an Alternative," in Amerasia Journal 1, No. 3, (November 1971), pp. 40-57; and Harold Paul Duggert III, and David Shibata "Chinatown Sweatshops: Wage Law Violations in the Garment Industry" in Immigration, Alienage, and Nationality, University of California, Davis, Law Review, The Regents of the University of California, 8, (1975), pp. 68-83.

[66] Bernard, op. cit.

[67] David and King, op. cit.

[68] North and Weissert, op. cit.

[69] See: Bay Area Social Planning Council, "Chinese Newcomers in San Francisco: Report and Recommendations of the Study Committee," BASPC, Oakland, CA, February 1971; Kim and Condon, op. cit.; and David and King, op. cit.

[70] David and King, op. cit.

[71] "Ms. Kim," "The Lives of Korean Women in America" in The Koreans in America 1882-1974: A Chronology and Fact Book compiled and edited by Hyung-chan Kim and Wayne Patterson, Oceana Publications, Inc., Dobbs Ferry, NY, 1974, pp. 121-123.

[72] Since 1947, over 67,000 refugees from various countries in Asia (including the Middle East) have sought refuge in America. They include over 25,000 from China, 16,000 from Indonesia (many of them of Dutch origin), and over 4,000 from both Japan and Korea.

[73] This year an additional 11,000 Indochinese refugees were paroled into the United States from Thailand and Laos.

[74] HEW Refugee Task Force, Report to Congress, June 15, 1976, Washington, D.C.

[75] Opportunity Systems Inc., "Second Wave Report: Vietnam Resettlement Operational Feedback," Washington, D.C., January 1976.

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[77] HEW Refugee Task Force, op. cit.

[78] Bok-Lim Kim, "Casework with Japanese and Korean Wives of Americans" in Social Casework, May, 1972, pp. 273-279 and Bok-Lim Kim, "Plight of Asian Wives of Americans" in Response, July-August, 1975, pp. 30-35.

[79] Census, Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos....

[80] Bok-Lim Kim, *op. cit.*

[81] See Bok-Lim Kim, *op. cit.*, and Don Chang Lee, *Acculturation of Korean Residents in Georgia*, R and E Research Associates, San Francisco, CA, 1975.

[82] Bok-Lim Kim, *op. cit.*

[83] Sil Dong Kim, *An Analysis of Problems of Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen*, Demonstration Project for Asian Americans, Seattle, WA, 1975. Last fall, a National Committee Concerned with Asian wives of U.S. Servicemen was established to facilitate communication among those concerned with the needs of Asian war brides, to advocate on their behalf, and to involve agencies and organizations to develop solutions for their problems.

[84] City and County of San Francisco, "Report of the San Francisco Research and Planning Conference on Asian Immigration," June 24, 1975.

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THE EFFECTS OF ASIAN-AMERICAN KINSHIP SYSTEMS ON WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Masako Murakami Osako

INTRODUCTION

Asian-American women have made impressive progress in the spheres of education and occupation. Today more Asian-American women graduate from college and hold professional jobs (see tables 1 and 2) than women of any other ethnic group (U.S. Department of Commerce 1973; Jaco and Wilbert 1975; Sung 1972). Considering the long history of discrimination against people of Asian descent and the reputation of Asian women as subservient, traditional, and housebound, this is a remarkable and puzzling accomplishment. Literature on status attainment, which invariably emphasizes the child's family background, suggests that this puzzle might be elucidated by examining the Asian-American kinship system (Porter 1974; Jencks et al. 1972). Similarly, a well-known thesis that the Asians' ethnically specific socialization practice accounts for much of their successful adjustment in America supports the merit of such an approach (see tables 1 and 2) (Caudill and DeVos 1956; Kitano 1969).

In what ways does the Asian-American family contribute to a woman's educational and career pursuits or discourage the actualization of her full potential? We will use this question to guide our discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the Asian kinship system in assisting women to pursue educational and occupational goals. We are particularly concerned with what kinds of empirical evidence or counterevidence exist for the stereotype (or myth) of the Asian woman's subservience and passivity. However, the lack of data prevents us from making definitive interpretations about the relationship between kinship practice and Asian-American women's performance, and limits the scope of this paper to Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women.

It must be understood from the outset that besides the family characteristics, other factors greatly affect the Asian-American's attainment in school and work. Among them, the U.S. Government's selective immigration practice is probably the most influential (see the chapter by Pian in this volume). Since the middle of the 19th century, the American migration policy toward Asians has oscillated sharply, first encouraging a large inflow of male laborers, then summarily refusing Asians, and recently preferring professionals and their families. In addition, since World War II a large number of refugees have been permitted to enter the Nation. Since many Asian-Americans are new immigrants, their occupational profile closely reflects the restrictions and preferences imposed by immigration policy. Another significant factor is racial discrimination. Until a few decades ago, people of Asian descent were frequently denied an opportunity to pursue higher education or desirable occupations (e.g., Daniels 1962; Simpson and Yinger 1972; Victor and Brett de Bary Nee 1972; Rabaya 1971). Therefore, even talented and motivated individuals failed to attain high socioeconomic status. Given this historical background, family system is clearly only one of several factors that have influenced Asian women's status attainment.

The characteristics of Asian cultures are only a part of the information necessary to understand the topic at hand. The contexts of Asian-American women's attainment, that is, the American educational and occupational systems, deserve close scrutiny (see chapters by Cordova, and Fong and Cabezas in this volume). Such attention is particularly essential in research on an ethnic minority, since the quality of educational and occupational institutions not only varies significantly but also actively influences the adaptive behavior of the minority population--the differing quality of education in inner-city and elite suburban schools is a well-known example in this respect.

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF THE POPULATION 25 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER CLASSIFIED AS COLLEGE GRADUATES OR ABOVE BY ETHNICITY, SEX, AND AGE: 1970
(percentage)

Ethnicity	Sex	Total 25 and over	Age 25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
Japanese	Male	22.3	38.9	30.1	13.0	5.3
	Female	12.8	24.3	10.0	6.1	2.6
Chinese	Male	30.8	50.9	35.7	19.4	8.5
	Female	19.6	35.3	17.6	11.2	4.5
Filipino	Male	16.6	30.0	27.0	6.0	3.7
	Female	30.5	42.2	28.4	14.1	4.1
White	Male	14.4				
	Female	8.4				

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census (1973). Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States. PC(2)-1G, and Characteristics of the Population United States Summary, Vol. 1, Part 1, Sec. 1.

TABLE 2

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS OF EMPLOYED FEMALE POPULATION BY ETHNICITY, U.S.: 1970
(percentage)

Major occupational groupings	Ethnicity			
	White	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino
White collar				
Professional & technical	16.2	15.8	20.1	30.6
Proprietors & managers	3.4	4.0	4.2	1.5
Clerical & sales	44.9	41.5	35.5	33.4
Manual workers				
Craftsmen & foremen	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.2
Operatives	14.0	15.0	22.3	10.7
Service workers	15.3	17.5	13.0	17.1
Laborers except farm	9.0	0.8	1.0	0.6
Farm				
Farmers & farm managers	0.3	0.7	-	-
Farm laborers	0.6	1.5	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census (1973). Occupational Characteristics, PC(2)-7A.

FAMILY-RELATED VARIABLES AFFECTING EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL PERFORMANCE

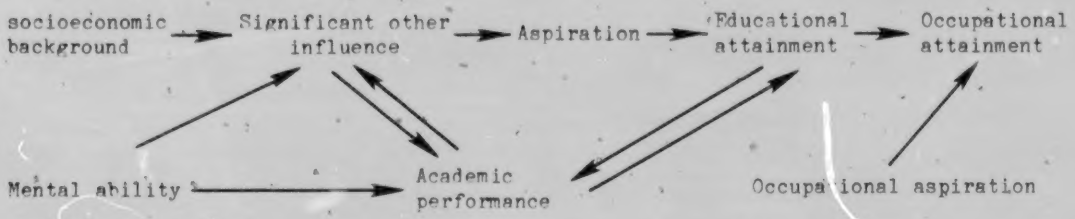
Our concern with the effect of family on women's performance shares its basic orientation with the so-called theories of status attainment, for both seek to identify the causes and processes of status attainment. Since it is beyond the scope of this study to examine the theories in detail, we will confine ourselves to the description of their most basic features (see Sewell et al. 1975; Blau and Duncan 1967; Sewell and Hauser 1972; Jencks et al. 1972; Alexander and Eckland 1973, 1974).

There are numerous versions of the status attainment model, but most models begin with the twin effects of the individual's socioeconomic background and mental ability. These two factors are conceptualized to influence the final educational and occupational attainment through a set of intervening variables, such as aspiration, significant other influences, and academic performance. One of the better known, a Wisconsin model, is presented in figure 1 (see Sewell et al. 1975; Wilson and Porte 1975).

In this diagram, as in all other theories, parental socioeconomic status (SES) is assumed to cause differences in significant other influences, while mental ability does the same for academic performance. Both mental ability and academic performance affect significant other influences, since it is assumed that significant others adjust their expectations according to the assessments of the individual's potential. In turn, significant other influences and academic performance have major effects on educational and occupational aspiration (Wilson and Porte 1975, p. 345).

Students of ethnic family and women's studies would immediately find considerable difficulties in applying this model to minorities and women, for it omits several factors that may be critical in understanding these groups. Most important, these theoretical concepts do not articulate the importance of cultural influences on the child's aspirations and performance. Numerous research studies have shown that Asian parents emphasize discipline, hard work, and respect for authority in bringing up their children. These attempts are generally successful, as they are reinforced by the presence of effective role models and cohesive family ties (Caudill and DeVos 1959; Sollenberger 1968; Kitano 1969; Suzuki 1977). These

FIGURE 1



studies clearly suggest that the cultural specific socialization pattern must be taken into consideration in interpreting the child's academic performance.

The upbringing of Asian girls entails another element that deserves consideration. Traditional Asian culture subjugated women and insisted on strict sexual division of labor, as will be explained later. Feminists complain that Asian parents' attitudes toward their daughters are still influenced by such traditions. As a result, many Asian-American women suffer from a syndrome akin to "the motive to avoid success," a notion advanced by Matina Horner (see chapter by Fillmore and Cheong in this volume). "The fear of success," states Horner, "may very well account for a major part of the withdrawal of so many trained American women from the mainstream of thought and achievement" (1968, p. 69). Benson (1972) and others attribute the sex difference in the attitude toward success primarily to sex-role socialization and societal attitudes that regard successful women as "aggressive" and "unfeminine." These findings suggest that omitting the cultural aspect seriously limits the utility of conventional status attainment models in the study of women, especially Asian-American women.

Another important factor omitted in this model is a constraint imposed on individuals which is beyond their control; namely, discrimination. Countless studies have documented discrimination and prejudice against women and minorities in American society (e.g., Myrdal 1944; Gordon 1964; Simpson and Yinger 1972; Friedan 1963). As nonwhite and female, Asian women are exposed to both sexual and racial oppression. Therefore, if one measures only the consequences of discrimination (i.e., occupational and educational attainment), ignoring obstructed aspirations, unsuccessful attempts, and frustration, the dynamic process of Asian women's educational and occupational careers cannot be fully understood.

Married women are constrained by an additional set of obstacles in their struggle for occupational advancement. The constraint is generated by the fact that a person must be in the labor force to attain any occupational success and that an intermittent career course is nonconducive to progressive advancement. Participation in the labor force, however, cannot be taken for granted among married women, because their desire for gainful employment is frequently hindered by their obligations as homemaker (Hoffman 1963, 1974; Sobol 1963, 1974; Sweet 1973). Their decision to work or not to work depends on a variety of factors. For instance, demographer James Sweet lists the following:

- Economic pressure
- Employability and earning potential
- Family situation
    - -Number and age of children
    - -Number of adults
    - -Husband-wife division of household work

- o Psychological variables
  - -Motivation
  - -Attitude
  - -Personality traits

Among these factors, "economic pressure" and "employability and earning potential" can be largely accounted for by the "socioeconomic position" and "educational attainment" of the conventional status attainment models (see Wilson and Porte 1975). On the other hand, the variability listed under "family situation" uniquely affects women; adult males except those who are in school or retired are generally in the labor force. Family size and composition have most commonly attracted the attention of specialists on the female labor force. For example, one study reports that the greater the number of small children under 6 years of age, the less the wife participates in the labor force, except where a third adult is present at home to take care of the children (Sweet 1973).

"Husband-wife division of household work" and some of the "psychological variables" also relate to the woman's role definition and performance outside the home. If there is a clearcut sexual division of labor that designates household chores as female tasks, the woman is less inclined to have a career, much less a demanding one that leads to advancement. Similarly, if the cultural norms define the woman's domain as being strictly at home, the husband as well as the wife may be adamant about her working outside the home.

So far we have discussed matters without paying attention to social class variations, but the forces listed by Sweet have differential influence on "women in different social strata." For the working class population, economic pressure is often the overriding force that motivates a woman to seek employment. For example, Chinese women in the garment and cannery industries as well as Asian women on Hawaiian sugar plantations have to work because of dire economic necessity. Likewise, in many of the recently immigrated Korean families who operate stores and shops, the woman has little choice but to spend many hours at work. Yet, when the economic pressure is mild, as in the case of the wives of professional Asians, the family situation, psychological motives, and employability--in a desirable job--divide working women from full-time housewives. Not infrequently, professionally trained Asian-American mothers seek jobs only after the last child starts school, even though this phenomenon cannot be identified from census data alone, for it groups working- and middle-class women together.

In summary, status attainment and labor force participation studies suggest that: (1) the socioeconomic status of the family, and (2) its composition, such as the number of children and adults in the household, significantly affect women's attainment in education and occupation. Adding to these, according to research on ethnicity, (3) the cultural definition of women's roles, (4) socialization practice, and (5) racial and sexual discrimination must be given serious consideration. As we have implied, all these characteristics are interrelated. Therefore, Asian women's pursuit of educational and occupational advancement is a product of a complex interplay of these variables. How do these family-related variables actually influence Asian-American women's performance? Answering this question requires a close examination of Asian-American kinship systems.

ASIAN KINSHIP SYSTEM

To what extent are various common notions about Asian women empirically valid? It would be appropriate to examine the indigenous family norms and practices prior to analyzing women's role in Asian-American culture. First, many of the Asian-Americans are recent immigrants, and they retain much from their indigenous cultures. Second, various studies have indicated the persistence of traditional norms even among second- and third-generation Asian-Americans. Third, since literature on the Asian-American family is very scarce, it is necessary to supplement it with research on families in China, Japan, and the Philippines (cf. Fujimoto et al. 1974; Rj Associates, Inc. 1974). Admittedly, there are a number of significant differences between Asian families and Asian-American families. Therefore, one must be cautious about generating interpretations of the American situation from knowledge about the Orient. Confucianism, for instance, was once the norm in the Far East, but it is minimally relevant in the Asian-American context.

In premodern China, kinship was the fundamental organization functioning as a social, economic, and legal unit (Levy 1949; Freedman 1958, 1961-2; Hsu 1970). The traditional Chinese family is characterized as patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and patrimonial. In this system, the husband-wife relationship, as depicted by Marion Levy, is almost antithetical to the American middle-class conjugal relationship:

> The relationship between husband and wife was neither the strongest nor the most intense relationship in the family . . . . The primary orientations of the married couple was toward the production of children . . . the wife was expected to care for her husband's household and raise his children. This was done under her mother-in-law's direction so long as the mother-in-law lived and did not retire, but the wife was expected to take over both the functions and their directions in the future. In the third place, the wife was in the family to serve her husband's parents. In the fourth place, she owed her husband complete obedience though she was expected to give priority to his parent's commands (1949).

Indeed, the rights of traditional Chinese women were rather limited and their status generally low (Levy 1949; Lang 1950; Wolfe 1972; Wolfe and White, eds. 1975).

It is necessary, however, to qualify this picture in one important respect. That is, the Chinese woman's status and power did improve as she grew older. As a young bride, she had to start in the husband's household from the lowest rank, but when she bore sons and one of them became the head of household, she could expect a significant improvement in her position. After all, Confucian emphasis on filial piety demanded that her son respect and obey his parents, including his mother. Therefore, the Chinese woman's lot changed with the stage of her life, lowest as a bride and highest as an aged mother-in-law. How much authority the mother-in-law actually enjoyed is a controversial issue among Sinologists. It is certain, however, that there was considerable variation by social class and region and that at times actual practice deviated substantially from the Confucian notion of the subjugation of women.

To be sure, Chinese women were subordinate to men, but they were not dependent and inactive members of the family. On the contrary, they contributed much to household production. Weiss observes:

> The activities of women within the domestic unit were often as essential as those of men to the functioning of the family unit. They could handle the internal finances of the household and played an important role in the socialization of the children (1974).

The strict division of labor practiced in traditional China did not necessarily deprive women of power. Women controlled certain functions exclusively, such as childrearing, domestic chores, cultivation of silkworms, and sale of homemade products; and they accumulated technical and managerial skills in these activities. In this situation, men might have been dominant members of the kinship, but they developed dependence on women's expertise. At times, in the large extended household with many family members and domestic staff, the patriarch's wife enjoyed substantial power, as she managed not only a substantial portion of domestic finances but also supervised a large female staff in activities vital to the household. Powerful elderly women, products of such circumstances, are frequently portrayed in historical novels and exemplified in the personalities of well-known figures.

Like Chinese kinship, the premodern Japanese family was generally patrilineal, patrilocal, and patriarchal. An authoritarian relationship also characterized the family's interpersonal relations, with women subordinate to men. But there were a few notable differences between the two cultures. The Japanese practiced a stem family, in contrast to the Chinese ideal of extended family. The stem family consisted of three lineal generations, each with a married pair or unmarried young children. Therefore, unlike in China, even rich families did not develop into a large corporate body, and women had little opportunity to manage large finances or a female staff. Second, Japan practiced primogeniture, in contrast to the equal division of inheritance in China. In this system younger sons and their families were subordinate to the oldest son and his family. Since many Japanese immigrants were younger sons, they and their wives were accustomed to hard work and subordinate positions. For them, deference to authority was a way of life.

Were Japanese women subjugated to males as their Chinese sisters were? The Japanese during the feudal period did share the Confucian ideal of male supremacy. In the upper samurai class, where positions and property were inherited through male lines, women neither managed the family finances nor directly participated in the household's major decisionmaking. But historical and anthropological evidence indicate a discrepancy between the ethnic ideal and actual practice among the masses.

Confucian emphasis on the subjugation of women was least important to the farming class, which constituted well over 70 percent of feudal Japan. Peasant women worked side by side with men in the field, at times enjoying considerable indirect influence in the household decisionmaking (Goode 1963; chapter VII). For instance, women silk weavers in an area northwest of Tokyo were well known throughout feudal Japan for their Petticoat Government, indicating the influence of economic contribution to women's status. (Silk was the major marketable commodity of the region.)

Similarly, in fishing villages where males were regularly away for long periods of time, women were reported to have controlled the family finances as well as other matters (Kawashima 1958). Thus, the woman's role in the traditional Japanese society varied depending on her social class and the socioeconomic characteristics of the region. This fact cast serious doubt on the empirical validity of the commonly believed generalization about "passive and dependent Japanese women."

How did modernization and industrialization change women's status in Japan? Now a majority of families are nuclear, with the husband employed outside the home. These changes may have intensified the gender-based division of labor, for the wife is increasingly dissociated from production. However, at the same time, they increased the scope of domain under her control. Vogel, for instance, reports that the household budget, the socialization of children, and contact with the relatives are the wife's obligations as well as prerogatives (Beardsley et al. 1959; Vogel 1965; see also Dore 1958). The great time demands made on the husband by his job and the wife's ready access to information on consumption and education through mass media both contribute to maintaining her dominance in household decisionmaking.

Therefore, the modern Japanese wife might appear subservient to her husband in the Westerners' eyes, but in fact she enjoys considerable security and power in the household. The wife's position is consolidated further by (1) her strong emotional tie with the son, and (2) the cultural emphasis on the importance of childrearing and collective goal attainment. According to this collective orientation, the achievement of the family as a whole is more vital than the members' individual attainment. This ideology recognizes that the wife (mother) has a part in the husband's (son's) occupational achievement, and consequently she is fully entitled to share the prestige and wealth brought by his achievement.

The profile of Filipino women reported by social scientists also fails to confirm the empirical validity of the stereotype about Asian women. Many studies suggest that, compared with Chinese and Japanese traditional kinship groups, the Filipino family is generally characterized by more egalitarian interpersonal relationships. Even though in the pre-Spanish era political authority was reserved for males, and the Spaniards preached the virtue of patriarchism, according to well-known anthropologist Stoodley, male superiority in the Philippines is now more a myth than a reality.

> At the present time this is an empty symbolism . . . . The position of the male head . . . lacks any effective prerogative in the family system and any generally available method of legitimizing status outside the family. To fill the vacuum, many male heads resort to ritualistic acts of dignity and affectations of importance (1957, p. 245).

Stoodley further points out several egalitarian features of the Tagalog kinship system. First, Tagalog kinship is multilineal; that is, descent-reckoning is done through both males and females, as in the United States. Second, there was traditionally a kind of "bilateral indifference" in naming. There were no surnames, and a child might be identified as "the first child of either the mother or the father." Third, in inheriting property, equal shares are given to the children without distinction on the basis of age or sex. Fourth, there is little or no distinction between the socialization of boys and girls until the age of 10 or 11. Finally, as might be expected, the husband-wife relationship is also egalitarian. Stoodley observes that "authority is allocated about equally between parents both with reference to children and to family patterns in general" (1957, p. 242). His viewpoint is shared by other social scientists who conducted research on urban Cebu families (Liu et al. 1969; Yu 1975).

Liu further notes that the equality between the sexes is based on a clear-cut division of labor, with women controlling the household management and men working and spending much of their leisure time outside the home. The household in the Philippines is definitely a female's sphere, in which the wife makes major decisions and carries them out, and serves as the socioeconomic link between her children and the bilateral extended-kinship system (Liu et al. 1969, p. 399).

The Filipino women's responsibility in household management, however, does not mean that they are housebound. To the contrary, both Tagalog and Cebu research report women's active participation in outside work. Using government statistics, Stoodley asserts that Tagalog women are often employed as laborers and peddlers (1957, pp. 247-248). Similarly, it is reported that in urban areas, husbands and wives in the middle and upper classes frequently are both employed (Yu 1975, p. 116). In short, Filipino women actively assume important functions inside and outside the home.

The preceding discussion on women in Asia reveals that many elements of the stereotype of "passive and subservient Oriental female" are not supported by evidence. In the East, women generally enjoy less prestige and power than men, but there are some important exceptions to this rule. There is a fairly explicit division of labor based on sex, with women in control of household management. Women in Asia contribute substantially to either the household sustenance or maintenance or to both. Furthermore, since the Asian culture views the family as fundamentally important to the entire society, this specialization has not necessarily relegated women to an inferior position. On the contrary, particularly in modern times, as mothers and wives, women in the Philippines and Japan enjoy considerable credit and respect for their accomplishments at home.

TRANSFORMATION OF ASIAN KINSHIP SYSTEMS IN AMERICA

When Asians emigrated to America, they encountered a social environment radically different from that in their home countries. The adjustment necessary for survival involved various changes in their family life. The transformation of the family was caused by a few distinct forces: (1) general social changes as a result of the transition from a predominantly agrarian and less developed society to a mostly urban and industrialized country, (2) cultural transition from Asian to American milieu, and (3) historically specific events such as immigration and discrimination (cf. Levy and Fallers 1959; Jung 1974; Yanagisako 1975). Although it is often impossible to articulate the specific effect of each of these factors, they help to account for the differing degree of changes or acculturation among Asian-Americans.

Among the various aspects of the kinship system, the authority structure has undergone probably the most drastic changes. In the traditional society, the authority of the head of the household depended on the resources (i.e., land) and expertise (e.g., knowledge of cultivation method and family rituals) that he commanded, as well as the norms of the larger society that supported his prerogatives. In America, however, the basis of his authority largely disappeared. Both wife and children can obtain employment outside the family, acquiring greater independence from him. Moreover, technical and social knowledge and language proficiency cannot be monopolized by the older male. In addition, all family members are bombarded with American values that stress individualism, equality, and freedom.

The degree of erosion of the head of household's authority varied by ethnic subgroups, reflecting their different experiences in the United States (cf. Bloom et al. 1945; Collins and Yee 1972; Connor 1974; Kiefer 1974). To protect themselves from the persecution of the white society, many Cantonese-Chinese sought refuge in Chinatowns, until after the Second World War. Chinatown residents were relatively isolated from the external world and found employment mostly within the Chinese system (Lee 1956, 1957, 1960; Barth 1964; Sung 1967; Lyman 1968, 1970; Hsu 1971). As a result, the community elders and fathers managed to retain much of their authority until recent times.

In contrast, the Japanese-Americans' experience of the relocation camps drastically reduced the power of older men (Osako 1980). Since the camp authority made all the major political and economic decisions for the residents, the household head's status declined sharply. He was no longer a principal wage earner; he could not set a respectable model for his children; he was visibly powerless toward the external authority; and, above all, he lost confidence in his old cultural heritage and himself. The Nisei could cope with the situation better than their fathers did. They had American citizenship, a command of English, and less attachment to the Japanese culture. Added to this changing status of the two generations, the War Relocation Authority's (WRA) policy to appoint only American citizens to administrative positions resulted in the Nisei's ascendance and eventual assumption of leadership in the community and, to a limited extent, at home. The ascendance of the Nisei continued even after the war, as their employment prospects were superior to their fathers'.

Today the Asian-American family appears to be becoming less and less authoritarian. A majority of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, especially in the middle class, live and work outside the ethnic enclaves (Modell 1968; Asian American Study Center 1976; Hosokawa 1969; Kalish 1966; Lee 1971). Little support exists for the continuation of a highly authoritarian family structure based on the head of household's command over resources and special skills.

Because of the scarcity of empirical data, it is impossible to make a generalization about the Asian-American family relationship. A few studies suggest a trend toward increased, albeit still limited, conjugal companionship and greater equality between generations (Rosario 1973; Kiefer 1974; Osako 1976). Most recently, a survey of some 225 Japanese-Americans in the Chicago metropolitan area reveals that companionship is a dominant feature of the middle-aged couple's conjugal relationship (Osako 1980). The Nisei wives listed their husbands more frequently than anyone else as their most common partner in leisure activities; i.e., 77 respondents out of 119. In addition, emotional closeness between couples is suggested by the respondents' choice for their confidants. As many as 103 of the 119 Nisei wives mentioned their husbands when asked:

> When you have a personal problem, who were the three persons you thought of when you answered this question?

Similarly, 98 women cited their husbands in response to an equivalent inquiry about "sharing happy news."

On the other hand, the Chicago study reveals a persisting division of labor between middle-aged Japanese-American couples. The husbands seldom do the cooking (67 percent), letter writing (14.2 percent), laundry (13.4 percent), dishwashing (22.5 percent). In contrast, they share a substantial burden in making major purchases (91.7 percent of the households) and doing repair work (85.9 percent). Reflecting the limited sharing of household tasks, 53 women (44.5 percent) said that they did not usually make important decisions jointly. The responses of these women are divided into 32 cases in which the husband is the major decisionmaker, 11 in which the wife is the major decisionmaker, and 12 cases of "husband makes some, while wife makes others."

Compared with the conjugal relationship, the intergenerational relationship between Issei and Nisei has undergone a more clear-cut transformation. This point is revealed in the responses of the elderly to the question:

> When the Nisei parent and the child have a disagreement, what is its usual outcome?

Only two Issei samples reported that the parents' opinion prevails. In contrast, 43.5 percent of them answered that the child's opinion carries more weight than their own. These figures clearly indicate that equality rather than parental dominance is the most prevailing feature of the Japanese-American intergenerational relationship.

To what extent are these findings about the Japanese-Americans applicable to other Asian-American populations? The answer to this question depends largely on how similar these samples are to the rest of Asian-Americans. The Nisei are all American born, mostly middle-aged, and in the middle-class. But only a minority of Asian-American families share these attributes. Therefore, other Asian families would have to deal with quite a different set of problems. For instance, a marriage between an older Filipino man and a young bride fresh from the Phillipines, a common match among the working class Filipinos, might entail more severe language, cultural, and marital adjustment problems. Younger couples may exhibit less sharing of roles as the woman stays home to take care of children and her husband works outside, as is the case in nearly half of the Asian-American families with the wife between 30 and 39 years old. Only careful research would prove or disprove the validity of these conjectures.

EFFECTS OF ASIAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES ON WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Is the sexual division of labor in adult roles reflected in the socialization of Asian-American children? This question can be answered only tentatively, because only impressionistic data are available on this matter (cf. Farmer 1969; Petersen 1971). A typical middle-class Asian-American parent would encourage both son's and daughter's attainment in academic work. However, parents would worry more if the son, rather than daughter, fell behind in academic work. Likewise, they are more likely to have a clear occupational aspiration for the son than for the daughter: a solid professional degree for him, preferably from a high-ranking university, but simply a college degree of any kind for her. Furthermore, the parents are generally not insistent on the daughter's pursuit of such prestigious and demanding professions as medicine or law. They would worry, however, if she became so professionally committed as to indicate little interest in marriage.

Clearly, there is a discrepancy between such limited parental expectations toward daughters and the feminists' emphasis on equality and self-actualization. Asian-American women appear to suffer from multiple burdens (cf. Asperilla 1974). They must cope with their own internal ambivalence and the conflict between peer pressure and the values instilled by their parents and community: "Is it feminine to be bright?" "Can I survive the competition in graduate school?" They also have to deal with their parents' and male friends' disapproval of their serious occupational commitment. Furthermore, as they try to establish themselves in school and in work, they must struggle with the societal prejudice that regards them as sweet and dependent, but not fit for a demanding intellectual position.

Despite these multiple difficulties, an increasing number of Asian-American women overcome such obstacles and attain respectable positions in the professions. But this fact does not negate the observation that many Asian women use their talents and energy in a struggle with such obstacles. Furthermore, the very success of some Asian women might be double-edged. On the one hand, it shows the possibility of overcoming the handicaps. On the other hand, it might add to the majority's psychological burden because it has proved that the obstacles can be overcome, thereby suggesting a lack of competence in those who might succumb to the obstacles.

In addition to the status difference between the sexes, respect for authority is another feature of the traditional Asian family. We have stated previously that the Asian-American family has become less authoritarian than it was in the home country. An yet, social scientists and educators alike observe that Asian parents persist in emphasizing this value (Kitano 1969; Simpson and Yinger 1972; Suzuki 1977). Few Asians can recall that their parents encouraged them to argue their point against that of their elders or to challenge a teacher on his theories or approach. More likely, argumentative children are hushed down as impertinent, and their intention to challenge the teacher or school receives little support at home, even if the parents may be sympathetic toward the dissatisfaction.

What effect does this stress on deference to authority have on Asian women's performance? Until the mid-seventies, it was commonly believed that this emphasis, together with discipline and respect for learning, were instrumental in the Asians' good adjustment at school and attainment of middle-class status. For instance, Caudill and DeVos (1956) argue that teachers and employers view favorably such characteristics as respect for authority and parental wishes, diligence, punctuality, cleanliness, neatness, self-discipline and high achievement motivation (see also Schwartz 1971; Okano and Spilka 1971). Few students of Asian-American cultures disagree that most Asian parents appreciate these values. But recently a number of scholars have begun to challenge this view as one-sided. For example, Bob Suzuki (1977), Stanley Sue, and others consider these norms as perhaps instrumental in training Asians for lower level white-collar positions, but not for successful professional roles (cf. Sue and Kitano 1973). They stress that the American higher education and professional life rewards such personality traits as leadership, assertiveness, creativity, critical ability, expressive skill, and independence of mind. Consequently, they argue that respectfulness and reserve are more a liability than an asset for a successful career. Recent studies of occupational success tend to support these views. For instance, Jencks and his collaborators calculate that the personality factor ("teenage personality characteristics") counts just as much as "years in schooling" in the attainment of occupational status (Jencks 1980).

If Asian-American men suffer from the discrepancy between their upbringing and the requirements of a successful career, there is good reason to suspect that their sisters are more severly handicapped (Asian Women Journal 1971; Arkoff 1964; Arkoff et al. 1964; Braun and Chao 1978). Even though research on sex-differentiated socialization practices is scarce, numerous Asian-American women have stated that their parents were more strict with them than with their brothers in inculcating the virtues of politeness, neatness, reserve, self-sacrifice, and respect for authority. To illustrate, it is all right for the son to be loud-voiced, but by no means may his sister be so. Encumbered with such an upbringing and with the society's stereotype of the submissive Oriental female, Asian women would find it extremely difficult to be articulate and assertive, even when they know that such behavior is rewarded with advancement.

This problem may explain the discrepancy between Asian women's educational and occupational attainments. They are among the most highly educated group of ethnic women, but their earnings are among the lowest. The percentage of women earning $10,000 or more in 1969 was 9.3 percent for Chinese, lower than 10.2 percent for white, and 11.2 percent for black women. The differential is much wider for those women with graduate educations: in this category 13.3 percent of Chinese, 27.7 percent of white, and 34.2 percent of blacks earned $10,000 or more. Similarly, college-educated Filipino women's earnings fall far behind those of white and black college graduates.

We have hitherto focused on the strains placed on Asian-American women in their pursuit of educational and occupational advancement. But to be well balanced, the analysis must pay attention to the contribution of the Asian-American kinship behavior and norms (cf. Barnett 1960; Light 1972; Li 1975). In this regard, several demographic characteristics of the kinship system deserve attention: the number of children, family stability, household composition.

Measured by a number of indexes, Asian-American families are more stable than other types of families. According to table 3, the percentage of divorced women among Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos (2.9, 1.7, and 2.2 percent, respectively) is much smaller than the national average of

3.9 percent. Similarly, fewer Asian families (10.3 percent for Japanese, 8.6 percent for Filipinos, and 6.1 percent for Chinese) are led by a female than the national average of 10.8 percent.

Family stability has been identified by various researchers as a factor influencing a child's academic and job performance (table 3). Notably, Moynihan and his collaborators (1965) warned that black boys from fatherless homes tend to underachieve in school and work. They attribute the underachievement to the boy's lack of discipline and motivation, which are in turn caused by the absence of a male role model at home. Other studies have also documented that, generally speaking, children from broken families tend to have more behavior problems than those from intact families and, therefore, more often than not they fail to attain their full academic potential. In view of these findings, the relative stability of Asian families positively contributes to their children's performance.

Another characteristic of the Asian-American family conducive to the children's favorable academic achievement is the small number of children per family. As indicated by table 4, except for Filipinos ages 35 through 44, Asian women give birth to fewer children than the national average.

TABLE 3

MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN
BY ETHNICITY: 1970
(percentage)

Marital status	Total*	White*	Black*	Japanese**	Chinese**	Filipino**
Single	22.6	21.8	28.7	20.1	27.6	27.6
Married	61.2	62.1	53.0	67.6	62.1	66.3
Divorced	3.9	3.7	5.1	2.9	1.7	2.2
Widowed	12.3	12.3	13.3	9.4	8.3	4.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*14 years old and over.
**16 years old and over.

Source: Characteristics of Population, Vol. 1, Part 1, Sec. 1, Table 2; Japanese, Chinese & Filipinos in the U.S., pp. 17, 76 & 135.

Japanese women in particular have a far smaller number of children than other groups; for example, Japanese women aged 35 through 44 have on the average 2.3 children. A small family encourages children's academic pursuits, because more resources and parental time are available for each child.

Married Asian-American women are favored by another demographic factor that encourages their outside employment; namely, the presence of an adult at home other than the parents. The third adult in the family of a middle-aged couple can assist the wife in childrearing and other chores. The 1970 Census reveals that a greater proportion of Asian-American families include relatives other than the head of household's wife and children than do white and black families (see table 5). This phenomenon is more common among Filipinos (11.2 percent) than among Chinese (7.3 percent) and Japanese (7.6 percent). Differential longevity between the sexes and informal observation of Asian-American families suggest that older women are commonly the relatives sharing the household. For example, in the aforementioned survey of Japanese-American families in Chicago, 20 percent of the Nisei couples lived with at least one aged parent. Of those households, 75 percent housed a mother, 14 percent a father, and 11 percent both parents. Those respondents living with an aged parent report considerable sharing of household chores despite the parent's advanced age.

TABLE 4

CHILDREN EVER BORN PER 1,000 WOMEN
EVER MARRIED BY ETHNICITY: 1970

Ages	Total	White	Blacks	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino
15-19	636	579	1,026	759	786	1,086
20-24	1,071	1,006	1,631			
25-29	1,984	1,922	2,541	1,656	1,778	2,018
30-34	2,806	2,734	3,395			
35-39	3,170	3,086	3,839	2,301	3,005	3,300
40-44	3,097	3,012	3,795			

Source: Characteristics of Population, Vol. 1, Part 1, Sec. 2, Table 212; Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the U.S., pp. 9, 68, and 127.

TABLE 5

PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLD BY RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD (EXCLUDING SPOUSE AND CHILDREN): 1970
(percentage)

	Total	White	Black	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino
Grandchild	1.3	(M) 0.9 (F) 0.8	(M) 4.8 (F) 4.0	1.4	0.5	1.0
Other relatives	3.2	(M) 1.9 (F) 3.6	(M) 4.5 (F) 5.9	6.2	6.8	10.2
Unrelated individuals	1.5	(M) 1.3 (F) 1.3	(M) 2.7 (F) 5.9	1.4	3.7	2.5

Source: Characteristics of Population, Vol. 1, Part 1, Sec. 2, Table 204; Public Use Sample 1970 (1/1000).

Thus, two counteracting forces appear to be operating in the Asian-American culture. On the one hand, the traditional stress on obedience as a womanly virtue and home as a woman's place continue to hinder the advancement of Asian-American women in occupation and education. On the other hand, certain characteristics of the Asian family, such as the small number of children, stability, and extendedness, facilitate their career involvement. In this paper, however, given the limited empirical data available, we could not quantitatively assess the specific influences of these features.

CONCLUSION

A principal finding of this paper is that there is little empirical basis for the stereotype of "passive and subservient" Asian women. Certainly, these women have often been subjugated to men, but there are significant exceptions to this generalization: the aged mother in China, Japanese women in fishing villages, and Filipinas in general. In America, Asian women have worked as hard as men, if not harder, in the factory, shop, and field. Moreover, they devotedly raised the children and competently managed tensions at home, helping their husbands and children to cope with the harassment of a racist society. Therefore, the accomplishments of Asian-Americans, such as stable marriages, low crime rates, and successful second generations, are all attributable, at least in part, to the women's perseverance, strength, and dedication. Clearly, then, the alleged characteristics of Asian women, that is, passivity and subservience, cannot be considered generalizable attributes.

This view does not contradict the fact that in premodern Asia there was an explicit division of labor between male and female. In China, Japan, and the Philippines, the woman's place was considered to be at home. For example, an opportunity to take the imperial civil service exam was never open to Chinese women. In this system, sending bright sons to school was an economically rational decision, but educating girls was clearly a waste of resources. Such a cultural and institutional legacy still lingers on in the mind of many Asian-Americans. It is reported that East Asian parents are more willing to finance the son's than the daughter's education. They feel it is imperative for the son to attain educational and occupational success, but the daughter must struggle to receive parental support to attain the same goal. Such a remnant of the cultural and institutional past might explain Asian-American women's ambivalence about their occupational pursuits and their lack of self-confidence reported by Dorothy Cordova in this volume.

The legacy of the low status of women in the hierarchical kinship groups (except in the Philippines) and the sexual specialization of domains continue to plague the socialization of Asian women. Docility, sweet nature, and good manners, rather than assertiveness and achievement, are still widely emphasized as womanly virtues. Such a socialization creates considerable ambivalence and conflict in the women as they try to cope with the demands of American society. The women's liberation movement might have worsened their dilemma, for it urges them to shed the remnants of their traditional upbringing--an extremely difficult task--and to strive harder to achieve in education and profession. No study has yet analyzed how crippling such counterpressure can be.

The preceding analysis has demonstrated strong links between a woman's family and her attainment, and yet, the exact nature of this nexus is not at all clear. Family is only one of many factors, such as immigration policy or sexual and racial discrimination, which affect educational and occupational achievement. Research to elucidate this linkage is urgently needed.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout the preceding discussion, I have indicated various areas that need to be investigated. To conduct research on such issues and to carry out pertinent demonstration projects on Pacific-Asian-American women, I would like to recommend the establishment of a Pacific-Asian Women's Research and Demonstration Center. The center's goal would be to help Pacific-Asian-American women realize their full potential. Its tasks will include:

1. To conduct research on Pacific-Asian-American women.

2. To formulate occupational and educational systems sensitive to the ethnic woman's commitment to family and ethnic heritage.

3. To develop a culturally sensitive assertiveness training program.

4. To sponsor community forums aimed at sensitizing Asian-Pacific adults about the more damaging consequences of discrimination against women at home and work.

5. To establish a network of Pacific-Asian-American women students, workers, and professionals to provide emotional and practical support to its members.

I believe that the establishment of a Pacific-Asian-American Women's Center will be one of the first steps toward the realization of full equality for Pacific-Asian women. It is hoped that the center will also encourage Asian women to make a greater contribution to American society.

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THE EARLY SOCIALIZATION OF ASIAN-AMERICAN FEMALE CHILDREN*

Lily Wong Fillmore and Jacqueline Leong Cheong

INTRODUCTION

The ultimate aim of the socialization process in any group is to ensure that its children can fit into the roles the group has defined for its adult members. These roles, together with the behaviors, attitudes, and outlooks they call for, are determined by a number of cultural features including the society's economic and social structure, its settlement patterns, and its canonical family organization. In the ideal case, the world in which an adult woman finds herself is the same one the socialization process has shaped her to take part in, and she is equipped with just the skills and attributes she needs for coping with the demands this world places on her. In this paper, we wish to raise the following question: What happens when the world in which an adult finds herself differs in important ways from the world for which her upbringing has prepared her? For such, we believe, is the situation faced by a great many Asian-American women.[1]

Our view of the Asian-American woman's situation developed in a number of ways. First, as second-generation Chinese-American women, we have experienced conflicts that are the legacy of growing up in two cultures simultaneously. Looking at the situation from the inside out, we found it difficult always to see beyond the personal to the general; unavoidably, our view of the situation reflects this inside-out perspective. Second, we sorted through the sketchy research literature on the subject and attempted to glean what was relevant to our problem. In general, the research literature was less informative than the available autobiographical accounts of the real-life experiences of a few women such as Jade Snow Wong (1945) and Maxine Hong Kingston (1976). Third, we interviewed a number of first- and second-generation Asian-American women, asking them about their experiences, feelings, attitudes, aspirations, and expectations. These interviews gave us the greatest help in defining the problem we examine in this paper. A summary of the interviews is presented here to the stage for our discussion.

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*We gratefully acknowledge the many helpful comments provided us on an earlier version of this paper by Dr. Tin Myaing Thein. Dr. Thein's critique led to a reorganization of the paper, and many of her comments have been incorporated into this version.

The interviews were informal--that is, we do not present them as a formal study. We simply located a number of Asian-American women who were willing to tell us about their experiences and to talk about their feelings. There were 10 women: 3 first-generation immigrants, each of whom had been in this country more than 20 years, and 7 second-generation women. The first-generation women ranged in age from 40 to 50; of the 7 second-generation women, 5 were in their mid-20's, and 2 were in their late 40's. All but one of the second-generation women had had some college training. In addition to the 10 Asian-American women, we also interviewed 4 women in Japan. We suspected that the problem we were examining was not unique to Asian women in America but was a more general problem experienced by women in rapidly changing societies where new role opportunities which conflict in important ways with traditional roles are suddenly available to them.

Our purpose in carrying out these interviews was to discover some clues to the nature of the socialization process which shaped these women, and to identify, at least preliminarily, some of the sources of conflict which appear to affect or constrain full exercise of their potentials as individuals in the American society. Additionally, we hoped these women would help us to identify some domain in the daily life of the home which would enable us to study the socialization process in detail. The interviews succeeded in sharpening our focus on the problems, but beyond that, they also helped to direct our attention to some of the relevant dimensions of the psychosocial development of Asian women and gave us some insights into the conflicts that we have had to deal with ourselves as Asian-American women.

Some characteristics, it developed, were common to all the women with whom we talked. In fact, in the composite picture which emerged from the interviews, we saw people we recognized: our mothers, sisters, friends, an even ourselves. First, we were struck by the competence of these women and by their resourcefulness. To a woman, each regarded herself as a competent person. In the accounts of their lives, again and again they described difficult situations which they had handled resourcefully and successfully. But all of them also revealed a longing for recognition and accomplishment. Most of them felt that they had not accomplished as much as they might have, and they tended to feel that they were not fully appreciated by the people around them. And all of them revealed personal anxieties about the conflict that they have had to deal with between the traditional goals imposed on them by their culture and their need to be productive and independent beings. Despite these conflicts, the women were reasonably adjusted people who have accepted their situations. What we can conclude from the interviews is that none of the women could be described as greatly discouraged or dissatisfied with her lot, but neither was any greatly pleased or contented. To give the reader an idea of what these women were like, we present a few of the stories we believe are representative.

The three first-generation women each commented on feelings of resignation in their attempts to free themselves from the constraints of tradition. All three had had some postsecondary schooling in China (although there is some question as to what they actually meant by this) and, at some time in the past, had harbored hopes of achieving a measure of independence by getting more education. However, for women of that generation, marriage, and not education, was the proper objective. In keeping with tradition, each had had a marriage arranged for her by relatives, and they were either sent for, or brought, to the United States by their Chinese-American husbands. Their lives in America followed a familiar pattern: each worked with her husband in a small self-owned business (grocery store, restaurant, or laundry), at the same time raising children and caring for her home. Their lives as they described them in the interviews seemed harmonious and contented at first. But as one considers their stories more carefully, a theme of conflict and resignation surfaces. The following portrait constructed from the interview of one woman will help to exemplify that theme; although the story is her own, it typifies the struggles of all three.

ROSE

Rose, 46, came to the United States when she was just 17, the "picture bride" of a Chinese-American college graduate. As a child, she was considered bright and did well in school. But while she had been encouraged by her parents to study when she was young, they made it plain to her that she could not aspire to go to the university as her brother might. Instead, her parents planned to arrange a marriage for her, thus freeing themselves from having to support her any longer. They made the best arrangement they could manage for her: a young man of a solid Taishan family with a real American birth certificate. As the bride of a birth-certificated American citizen, Rose was assured of immigration to the United States without the interminable delay in Hong Kong that was so familiar to most Chinese immigrants.

Life was fairly easy during her first several months of marriage. When she first arrived in America as a bride, her mother-in-law was hospitable, and even cordial. Her sister-in-law took pains to transform her into an American housewife by redoing her hair and wardrobe. And because he was anxious for her to learn English and become Americanized, her husband enrolled her in night school as a way of "improving" her. With all this attention and evidence of interest, Rose believed that she had drawn a winner in the great match-marriage sweepstakes. She worried about not letting her in-laws down and tried hard to please them. But their cordiality and interest in her did not last much longer than did the novelty of having a new bride in the house. Rose soon learned that as the first daughter-in-law, she was expected to cook and keep house for the entire family, which consisted of six adults and assorted children--all of this under the direction and executive command of her mother-in-law. In addition, she was expected to work in the family's business, a three-laundry operation, and to begin having children as soon as possible. When a grandson did not appear to be forthcoming after the first month or so of marriage, her mother-in-law chastised her for "wasting the family's rice." Rose did her best, and a little later (11 months after she was married), a son was born. It was a good thing that this first child was a boy, Rose said, since a girl would not have been an adequate demonstration of her good intentions to her mother-in-law.

Before long, Rose's husband began resenting the time she was spending going to night school. He told her that she was so backward and ignorant that she was just wasting her time. What could she possibly hope to accomplish? Besides, she should be putting more time into the business. Her husband's real motive for not wanting her to continue with night school, Rose believes, is that he was embarrassed that his wife had to attend classes which amounted to no more than work toward a high school diploma. That she needed to do so publicized her lack of formal American education.

With the birth of her first child, the mother-in-law in her husband's mother emerged with a vengeance, and she took command of the care and training of this link of hers to immortality. She dictated every activity concerned with the baby's care--how to hold him, how to feed him, and, above all, how to socialize him. This first child was the grandmother's. The second and third were Rose's. They were just girls and, therefore, not worth the grandmother's attention. Rose lived with her mother-in-law for 17 years, until the old woman's death. During those years, her struggles for survival as an individual were as much against her mother-in-law as against her husband. Perhaps because of the difficulties she has personally experienced, she has tended to be particularly conscious of what women should have. She has encouraged her two grown daughters to gain a degree of independence through education and has urged them to seek professional careers for themselves. At the same time, she would like them to succeed in their marriages.

Rose is still attempting to finish her schooling, but at great personal cost. She no longer believes that she can achieve her goal of becoming a secretary, but would like to finish her work for a high school diploma just the same. Her husband still resents her efforts, however, and sometimes hides her books so she cannot study.

A striking characteristic common to all of the second-generation women interviewed is their recognition that they should have a right to a degree of independence. All seven women were articulate and vocal on this issue. However, they differed greatly in how successfully they had been able to achieve anything resembling self-determination or independence. It seems that although they have these personal aspirations, the effort and resolution required to break the bonds of tradition do not come easily--as we can see from the following story.

MARY

Mary, a 47-year-old second-generation Chinese-American, was trained as a medical doctor, as was her husband. But while he is a successful practicing physician, she is a housewife. Although she was considered "foolish" for thinking about such things, Mary managed to get a scholarship for medical school, which she completed at the head of her class. While still in medical school, she met and married her husband. After 2 years of practice, Mary had her first child, and a second soon followed. She continued to practice for awhile, but her mother-in-law, who lived with Mary and her husband, began berating Mary for being a neglectful wife and a poor mother. She should forget the foolishness about working and stay at home where she belonged. Mary did. In large part, her mother-in-law's exhortations worked because they struck a responsive chord in Mary. While she felt frustrated and angry about not being able to practice medicine, deep in her heart she felt even more strongly that she owed her family her full attention and services. She thought of hiring a babysitter and a housekeeper and going back to work herself. But her mother-in-law impressed upon her the inadequacies of that plan. And while her husband thought that it would be nice if she were to get back into practice, still, he felt that it could not be at the expense of an immaculately kept house, graciously served meals, or well-cared for children. Her husband argued against the idea of hiring household help, asking who could take care of his clothes as she could, and who could be as good a mother to his children as their own?

Mary's children are nearly teenagers now and do not need her time as much as they did when they were younger. She has accommodated herself to her situation and keeps busy with social activities of various sorts, as befits the wife of a prosperous and successful doctor. She speaks of her circumstances without obvious bitterness. She has a good life: her husband is loving, her children are lovely, and she is financially secure. But there is an edge of frustration in her voice. She believes that she is a competent person and physician, and that she can do anything. But she does not think she will ever practice again because to do so would require more effort than she thinks she is willing to make. Her husband's career is the important one; and besides, her life is not all that bad. At the same time, she describes herself as being just a little outside of the world in which she finds herself. "I find myself looking on," she said, "as if I am watching someone else acting out my life."

Mary's resignation can be contrasted with Joanne's still active struggle.

JOANNE

Like Mary, Joanne is a second-generation Chinese-American, but she is only 23 years of age. She seems typical of the younger women we interviewed and her story reveals their concerns. What emerged from these interviews was a deep and abiding conflict between what these younger women think they should be and what their culture wants them to be. They would like to be the kind of compliant and self-sacrificing women their parents and husbands want, but, at the same time, they do not want to compromise their desires to be themselves either.

Joanne is 23, cheerful, and bright. She is married to a young Chinese-American businessman who recently graduated from college. Joanne supported her husband's education by working and is currently a junior in college herself. She would like to be a lawyer, she said, and wants to go to law school before starting a family. But it is not easy. Her husband would like to have a son before too long, and her parents and in-laws are beginning to urge her not to waste time. She is somewhat chagrined about their impatience. Her own parents had always encouraged her to seek a career and be independent, but now they are telling her that she should not waste time going to school. She feels that they may be right--she could be too old to start a family if she puts off having a baby until she finishes law school. Sometimes she feels guilty about not being the wife her husband wants. But then, she is not altogether willing to give up a chance to have a career or to make use of the talents that she feels she has. To do that, she said, would be to give up her identity. She recognizes that, unless she maintains her individuality and independence, she runs the risk of stifling any possibility of a mutually satisfying relationship with her husband. Still, she is afraid that she will disappoint both her family and her husband if she does not carry out her obligations to them by functioning in the traditional sense as a woman and wife. At the same time, she is afraid that she will fail in her commitment to herself.

By way of contrast, we present the stories of two of the Japanese women we interviewed. Their stories will help to underscore the sources of conflict common to Asian women in the modern world. They have been brought up in traditional ways, but their society has changed rapidly in recent years; the same educational and occupational opportunities available to women in America are available to them, too. Consequently, their struggles and frustrations resemble those reported by the Asian-American women we interviewed.

KAZUKO

The interviewer met Kazuko through her husband, who teaches English in a university in Tokyo. Asked whether Kazuko was also a teacher, the husband responded, "Oh no, she is just a housewife." On meeting her, the interviewer was surprised to find a remarkably resourceful and energetic person who was anything but "just a housewife." She was teaching, although only in her home. Because her husband and mother-in-law disapproved of her working outside the house, she was running informal classes in English conversation in her dining room for college and high school students and was apparently involved in devising and testing new strategies for improving oral language skills for foreign language students. She had met her husband when they were both teaching in a junior college, she said, but gave up her job after marriage. Her mother-in-law, who lives with the family, feels that a woman should stay home and attend to her household and children. She has not had a paid job in years and believes that even if her husband and mother-in-law were to permit her to go back to work, she would not be able to find a job since she is now past 40. Nevertheless, while she feels disappointed that she cannot use her skills as a teacher professionally, she tries to keep busy, she said.

MIDORI

Midori is 29 and a teacher of English in a women's college in Tokyo. She considers herself fortunate that her mother was liberal in her views and encouraged her to study and to aspire to an academic career. The mother had been widowed as a young woman and was forced to leave her first child with her mother-in-law when she returned to her parents' home after the death of her husband. Because of the financial and emotional difficulties she herself endured during those years, she came to believe that a woman must have some way of supporting herself economically. Eventually she remarried, and Midori was one of two daughters born to her in that marriage.

Midori enjoys her work and finds it fulfilling. She is not married, and she observed that she is rather "advanced in age" already. She would like to marry, she said, if someone comes along who meets her requirements. Her requirements? That he let her go on with her career and that he share some of her professional interests. One of the reasons that she has not married yet, she said, was that she was certain no husband would let her go on with her work. "He might agree to let me work at first," she commented, "but before long he would insist that I stay home. They always do."

CONCLUSIONS

At first glance, all the stories we have presented appear to be success stories. The women we interviewed are not people on the survival rung of the economic ladder; they have climbed beyond that to a more comfortable place in their communities, both socially and economically. And in large measure, the outward success they and their families presently enjoy has been achieved through the hard work and endurance of these women in the recent past. They are enjoying what numerous other Asian-American families are still struggling to achieve, but they in their own time had to overcome the same linguistic, educational, and economic handicaps that the more recent immigrants are having to deal with now. The problem these women revealed in their interviews was not that of failure but of potential not fully realized. As we have noted above, each has made a kind of adjustment to her situation, but sometimes it was made at great personal cost (as is most evident in Mary's case). Nevertheless, their outward acceptance of their situations is deceptive. They were not all that they might have been, and each knew it. Mostly they kept these feelings to themselves. They were, to a woman, imminently practical people, not inclined to waste time daydreaming about what might have been or to waste energy displaying their frustrations. And yet, their feelings of frustration emerged as they talked; each was aware that she once had, or now has, the potential to accomplish more in her life, but each also felt that it was wrong somehow to expect more.

On the surface, the situation portrayed by these women does not seem greatly different from that of women everywhere: social and economic conditions have deprived women of full and free exercise of their talents in most, if not all, cultures. And yet the Asian woman's situation is unique. For her, the conditions which most inhibit her development are not external circumstances but internal constraints, which are perhaps more powerful than any set of external controls. While each of the women we interviewed was competent and seemed aware at some level of this competence, each also displayed an incongruent and troubling lack of self-confidence. In many subtle ways, the message was communicated to us: "I think I could have accomplished more, but then, who am I to want more than life has given me?" The words they never spoke were: "Besides, if I had tried for more, I probably would have failed." These unspoken words were heard in numerous comments: "I was good in school, but I never opened my mouth much, you know. Then nobody knows what you know and what you don't know. People thought I couldn't speak English for a long time"; "I wanted to be a teacher, but it wasn't in the cards. Why not? Well, being Chinese, and all"; "I guess I get pushed around a little--don't express my opinions too much--I don't like to make trouble"; "I never went to college because I figured I wouldn't be able to handle it. I think I was wrong, but it's too late now."

The negative self-evaluation implicit in the above statements was pervasive among the women we interviewed, and it persisted even when all outside evidence contradicted its validity. One woman told us that, although she was a straight-A student in college while carrying a full-time study load and working nearly full time to help support her family, she was afraid to apply for a scholarship since she was sure she would be turned down. Her greatest fear throughout school, she said, was that people would somehow discover that she was an intellectual fraud and that the A's had been given to her by mistake. Another woman, a week after getting a B+ in a course (the first grade below an A in her college career), was still so upset that she ran her car into the rear end of another. She reported that she regarded the B+ as an evaluation of her personally and that she considered it a sign of failure. The remarks of many of the women we interviewed indicated that they are unnecessarily hard on themselves: they expect far too much of their own performance, so much so that each is sure she cannot quite meet her own expectations. Worst of all, they tend to project these expectations onto others, and to believe that others expect as much of them as they themselves do. And further, they believe that in the event of failure, others will be as disapproving of them as they are. Thus, in one way or another, they all tend to play it safe. They take no unnecessary chances in their personal lives. They may be gamblers at heart in many other respects, but they do not risk failure. They do not give others a chance to disapprove of them. If one does not open one's mouth, others never find out what one knows or what one does not know. I would probably get through law school--but what if I fail the bar exam? Being a doctor has its risks; being a good wife and mother is a sure bet; why take a chance? Rather than fight and risk failure and disapproval, one accepts the bowl of rice fate hands out and rationalizes: "Maybe I wasn't meant for that; maybe it was just a dream."

Most of the women we talked with, while believing that they are competent, nevertheless tend to attribute whatever success they have achieved in their endeavors to "luck" and "hard work" rather than to their personal abilities. Mary, for example, who graduated at the head of her medical school class, said in comparing herself to her husband, whom she considers a great success: "He's really a smart man; but I was lucky and I worked hard (so I got through medical school, too)."

Consequently, what we have is a problem of far greater subtlety and complexity than the obstacles which ordinarily prevent ethnic minority women from achieving or succeeding. That is, the real educational and occupational obstacle that Asian women need to overcome goes far beyond the external limitations imposed on minorities and women in our society. They have shown that they can handle external limitations such as language handicaps, poverty, and job discrimination with resourcefulness and determination. Their cultures seem to have equipped them with such skills and tenacity that they can make a decent showing in their endeavors despite overwhelming odds. Indeed, by the second generation, most Asian women compare very favorably with the general population in educational achievement, and they can compete quite well on the job market compared to other women, at least.

The problem, as we see it, goes deeper. The socialization process provides them with the skills and determination to do almost anything they set out to do. It also equips them with a kind of built-in success inhibitor, but one which is not activated as long as the rules they aspire to fill are the ones their cultures intend for them.

At the root of the problem is the fact that this success-inhibitor--the negative self-esteem factor--is the traditional social mechanism by which skills and work habits are instilled in Asian females. It is tied directly to the roles that females are expected to play in Asian cultures and the status to which they have traditionally been relegated in the family structure. Let us examine those cultural expectations before considering the nature of the socialization process which creates the dilemma faced by Asian women.

The Asian woman, to begin with a few large generalizations, is expected to be an obedient, loyal, modest, responsible, and, most of all, self-sacrificing daughter, daughter-in-law, wife, and mother. These roles and attributes are traditionally prescribed for female members of Asian cultures, and physical and generational distance from the mother cultures has not greatly altered them. The cultural roots of these expectations are found in the Confucianist tradition, in which the basis of an orderly society is seen to lie in the orderly conduct of daily life within the hierarchical structure of the family; and this is as true for the Japanese as it is for the Chinese culture. In the traditional concept of the family structure, the lines of authority and descendance are patriarchal. The male is at the head of this structure and plays the dominant role in the management and conduct of all aspects of the family's welfare. But his chief functional role is economic and outside the home. While he has the authority to make decisions governing the daily conduct of family life, he takes little interest in the actual running of the household. The management of the household and the day-to-day care of the family are solely the responsibility of the women, and these are the responsibilities for which the socialization process must prepare her. Thus, the socialization process must provide her the necessary skills to handle all the tasks involved in the management of a household, and also the requisite attitudes to accept the low status in the family and social hierarchy which is traditionally assigned to women.

The status of the female throughout most of her life is best described as marginal. From the very earliest age, she is made aware that males are preferred over females in her world. A particularly poignant example of this early awareness was reported to us by a woman who is a second-generation Chinese-American. She recounted that one of her earliest childhood memories was that of overhearing her mother tell a friend that she did not at all regret that her just-delivered baby was still-born: "It was just another useless girl." Although she is treated well enough by her parents as a rule, the reality of the female's lesser status and worth compared to males is constantly reinforced. She knows that her parents regard her as an impermanent member of the family. She is just "passing through" the family circle on her way to someone else's hearth. Because of her temporary status, a female's name is never listed on the rolls of her primary family as are the names of the male members, nor will it be listed on the rolls of her husband's family since she is clearly an outsider there. An Asian woman, at least in this symbolic sense, is a nonperson. Furthermore, the female child may witness her mother being treated as an outsider in her home, especially if she has no sons. In the Asian family, a woman has no status in her husband's family until she has borne a son. A woman's son, in a sense, grafts her to the family tree. Until then, and sometimes even then, she can expect to be treated only slightly better than a servant in the household, reflecting her second-class membership in the family.

The most important way in which a female's relative worth is impressed upon her is in the differential expectations her family has for her as opposed to her brothers. While her brothers are expected and exhorted to go out and bring honor to the family by excelling socially and academically, she is only required not to bring shame on the family by doing poorly in outside endeavors like school, or by exhibiting unseemly signs of disobedience, aggressiveness, or unfemininity. And when her brothers do well, there are signs, no matter how carefully concealed, that her parents are proud and pleased. When she succeeds in her efforts, she senses only, in the absence of any signs that it has been to her credit, that she did not let the family down by doing poorly. To the outsider, these differences may seem unfair; to the properly socialized Asian female, they are appropriate. Her status is so well defined and consistently reinforced within the context of her family and community that the female does not question its fairness. Let us examine some aspects of that socialization process to discover by what mechanism this view of the female is fostered in her and what, in the process, causes her to accept forevermore her culture's evaluation of her worth.

The training of a female child in the Asian family typically begins quite early. While her life is not greatly different from that of her brothers during the first 5 or even 6 years of life, still she is required to begin taking part in the running of the household and to begin learning about child care by looking after younger siblings. During the early years, her parents may be reasonably indulgent and affectionate, although by Western standards they may appear somewhat aloof, stern, and authoritarian. Around age 5 or 6, a definite change takes place in the way they interact with her. This phenomenon has been described by Wolf (1970) in her report on child rearing practices among Taiwanese parents. She notes that until children are 6, parents do not believe that they can understand much and therefore do not expect much from them in the way of proper social behavior. However, upon reaching the age of 6, the time of one's life established as the threshold for the "age of reason," children are suddenly expected to behave as rational, mature persons. Wolf describes the subsequent change in the parents' interactions with the 6-year-old from the child's perspective as "abrupt, bewildering, and drastic" for, without warning, loving and indulgent parents suddenly become distant, stern, and demanding. For the girl, especially, life may suddenly become filled with chores and responsibilities.

The training proces begins with the child being given small chores to perform. The tasks are trivial at first, but the standards for performance are high. Whether the child is asked to string beans or to hang the clothes out to dry, she is expected to do the job neatly, precisely, and thoroughly. At first, the mother may redo an improperly done job with mild admonitions and explanation. Failure to improve quickly brings scolding or harsher reprimand. The very harshest reprimand reported to us by our informants was to be banned from helping any longer in the particular household domain in which the poor performance took place. This may not seem like such an extreme form of punishment at first glance. Presumably, the punished child has been freed from a chore and can then go out to play instead of helping in the house. But for the Asian female child, to be banned from a task for incompetence is an even more painful sanction than losing television viewing privileges for a month, since it advertises and reaffirms her basic worthlessness. To do well on a task, on the other hand, does not bring praise or reward. Instead, the parent is likely to say nothing at all. Praise is considered emotional excess, it is in bad taste and is to be avoided, especially where girls are concerned. Thus, the female can hope only for silence, which might be taken as a sign of nondisapproval--or the next best thing to approval.

The ultimate reward is to be given greater responsibility in the form of a larger part of the task. The structuring of training usually involves the child's being assigned a small part of a larger task, to be performed under supervision at first, and as a chore or responsibility with less supervision later. For example, the child may be shown how to wash rice for the evening meal, or to wash and prepare vegetables to be sliced. The particular task then becomes the child's responsibility, and she must learn to do it properly and independently each day along with her other chores. Once the task is thoroughly mastered, the child will be given an additional step or even two. Eventually, the entire job is her responsibility. There may be a lapse of several months to several years between the time she is assigned the first part of the task and the time she is given the entire job, as in the domain of cooking. However, the eventual outcome is that the girl is able to handle the whole job, even one as complex as cooking an entire meal; she knows the steps and processes involved, the timing and sequencing, and she is well practiced in every aspect of the procedure. The child training process we have described here is remarkable in its effectiveness. Long before an Asian girl has to run her own household, she can handle most facets of housekeeping and cooking, and what she has failed to learn or has not learned properly, her mother-in-law or other female-in-laws will surely bring to her attention.

However, at the same time that the training process is highly successful in accomplishing its purpose, it also has built-in problems. The principal procedure for shaping behavior in desired directions is the use of shame and rejection. If a girl does not do her job well, she is rebuked and reminded that she is failing to live up to her responsibilities to the family. The threat of threats is that someday, in her mother-in-law's eyes, her poor training and incompetence will reflect badly on her own mother--and this as yet unidentified person will be able to say: "She must have had no mother." Add to this rather harsh form of training the basic sense of inferiority the female has had instilled in her from birth, and one has an impressively insecure person. She may be as competent as anyone who walks the earth, and the training she has received may have ensured that she can handle almost any job that is likely to come her way, but nevertheless, there is a strong suspicion in her heart that she is not worth much, nor has she a right to expect much more out of life than to mudddle her way through it as best she can, bringing as little discredit to her family or to herself as possible.

We began this discussion by saying that Asian-American females would not experience the conflicts we have been describing as long as they did not aspire to more than they had been socialized to expect. However, they do not remain isolated from the outside world for long, and in the outside world they will find enticing alternative opportunities. At school, for example, they come into contact with other socializing agents who do not consider them quite as unworthy as they have been led to believe they are at home. In fact, they bring to school with them just the attributes teachers love best: neatness, thoroughness, obedience, submissiveness, nonaggressiveness, cooperativeness, and a keen desire to please. Add to these attributes the work habits and problem-solving strategies they have been learning at home from their mothers, and we have the makings of A-Number-One students. Sometimes, the approval and rewards an Asian female receives for her efforts in school will help to counteract the negative self-image her early socialization has given her and to convince her that she might aspire to goals other than those she has been taught are appropriate for her. In such a case, the girl can decide to do what is best for herself and to seek out educational and professional opportunities or take advantage of those that come her way. To do this however, she often finds it necessary to reject some of the more positive attributes her culture provides for her as well.

Fong and Peskin (1969) note that female college students from China score significantly lower than comparison groups of Chinese-American males and females on measures having to do with culturally valued attributes such as gentleness, modesty, patience, reserve, and social sensitivity. To develop the self-reliance and degree of independence these women needed to reach the United States in the first place, these women needed to "deliberately disavow" all of the cultural demands that might have operated against them in making their decision to obtain an education or to pursue a career.

Indeed, in order to break free of the culturally imposed constraints on development, many Asian-American women have found it necessary to reject either the feminine behavior expected of them by their culture, or the culture itself. A number of women with whom we talked expressed the opinion that they found Asian women who have achieved success in the professional world "too aggressive" or "unfeminine," and that they feared that one of the consequences of "making it in the outside world" was the loss of some of the most positive aspects of their culture.

In most cases, however, the early training of the Asian female is far too strong to be overcome by any outside influences she might encounter in school. And while the enticements of outside opportunities are great, they are not great enough to enable her to go much beyond the point of obtaining an education. And therein, we believe, lies the educational and occupational dilemma for Asian-American women. Even if they are able to take the initial steps in securing an education for themselves, they have difficulty finding the courage to pursue a career seriously. They may go to college but be reluctant to try advanced graduate work. They may find a job, but be convinced that they should not seek anything requiring them to take a leadership role. Deep in their hearts, they suspect that such pursuits contradict their other more important obligations--to carry out the traditional roles their culture has assigned to them. And such is the legacy of the socialization process of the Asian-American female. The picture we have presented, because it was pieced together from so many different sources, is somewhat fragmented. But nevertheless, it gives us some leads into the nature of the process.

RECOMMENDATIONS

For the purpose of this conference, which is to make suggestions for a research agenda on the educational and occupational needs of Asian- and Pacific-American women, we have identified at least two areas which call for consideration as topics for research or examination. One involves "pure" research--there is a need to study the actual characteristics of the socialization process of Asian females in natural settings. The other involves applied research--there is a need to see whether intervention or counseling can be used effectively to help Asian-American females deal with the conflict created by their upbringing.

The relevant past research on the social development of Asian-American children has been of three main types. The first examines parental attitudes on childrearing through the use of questionnaires and interviews (Kitano 1961, 1964; Kriger and Kroes 1972; Kishiwa and Smith 1943; Young 1972; Wolf 1970). A second type involves observations in naturalistic settings--the kind of study exemplified by the cross-cultural studies of Whiting and Whiting (1975). The third type of research deals with attitude change in young Asian-American adults through attitudinal scales (Fong and Peskin 1969; Arkoff, Meredity, and Iwahara 1964; Arkoff and Weaver 1966; Sue and Kirk 1972) and projective tests (Fox and Barnes 1973). The latter kind of research is relevant to the issue of socialization since it deals with the effects of acculturation on the social personality of individuals.

Of the methods used for studying socialization, neither questionnaires nor interviews seem to us to be very dependable since both require contrivance in attempting to capture real-life behavior and feelings with pencil and paper. Much of the socialization process takes place by virtue of strategies and attitudes which are below the level of awareness, and which might be revealed through deep introspection, but probably not through ordinary surveys or interviews. Besides, the reliability of questionnaires and interviews is rather suspect since responses to contrived questions or situations are not always accurate reflections of how one might really behave or feel in real life. Interviews especially are subject to problems introduced by the interviewing situation and the interviewer.

That leaves us with observational studies in which the process is observed in a naturalistic setting. However, past studies of childrearing practices have tended to focus on only the grosser aspects of the process: parental attitudes, type of parental feedback provided to the learner, child behaviors, social environment, family structure, and so forth. And generally, only a particular aspect of the process is examined, usually removed from the total context in which it occurs.

We would like to suggest that studies be carried out on the total process and within the setting in which socialization takes place. However, we recognize that in order to do this, one still needs to narrow down one's sights to some specific dimension or domain. The methodology we think would work best is a kind of modified "ethnomethodological" approach in which a small piece of interaction is examined microscopically and where all aspects of that interaction are considered. Among the aspects of the process we think ought to be examined are the structuring of the interaction, the contributions of each of the persons involved, the way these persons interact with each other, the effect of environmental factors, and the beliefs and attitudes expressed in the interaction.

A good model for collection of observational data can be found in the studies carried out by Whiting and Whiting (1975). Their research methods have been described in their field guide book (Whiting and Child 1966). The dimensions of their analysis are not precisely appropriate for our purposes, however. They were concerned only with observing the social behavior of children as they interacted with one another. We are concerned with the way in which mothers structure the learning environment for their daughters and how those daughters internalize the expectations, roles, and behaviors the culture has prescribed for them. The interaction between female parent and child is the central issue. Other studies of mothers' childrearing practices (Steward and Steward 1973; Bee et al. 1969; Hess and Shipman 1965; Young 1972) have all focused on mothers and their sons. Obviously, for the purposes of examining the development of women, we need to look instead at the relationship between mothers and their daughters. There is adequate evidence that Asian mothers, in particular, tend to regard and treat their male children in a distinctly different way from the way they do their female children.

In structuring any study, however, one would have to select a particular domain which would reflect the overall process. A particularly rich domain to investigate might be that of the kitchen, since nearly every woman we interviewed said that from an early age she had helped her mother in the kitchen and had learned to cook in this manner. As far as we could determine from our interviews, this apears to be a domain in which the experiences of the women were fairly comparable, and we can therefore conclude that the structuring of the training activities must be done according to a clear cultural pattern.

In a more pragmatic vein, we would also like to propose that research be aimed at identifying strategies for counseling Asian-American girls during the high school years to modify some of the cultural tendencies they have internalized through the socialization process. The reasons for doing so are twofold. First, they will need help in dealing with the conflicts they will surely be facing as they make decisions for themselves concerning educational and career goals. However, counseling should not be aimed only at directing girls toward college or work, but also at the larger goal of mental health. Although the women we interviewed had all made good adjustments to their situations, we know of other women who have not fared quite as well. The second argument for making attempts at intervention through counseling is to try to help young women become aware of the attitudes and behavioral patterns which will affect the way they rear their own daughters someday. By doing so, perhaps they will see to it that these daughters and their daughters' daughters will be free of the conflicts we have seen.

NOTE

[1] By Asian-American women, we refer in particular to women in American of Chinese and Japanese descent--the two groups we know best. However, what we have to say is probably relevant to other groups of Asian-American women as well.

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ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF ASIAN-PACIFIC WOMEN

Pauline L. Fong and Amado Y. Cabezas

INTRODUCTION

Asian women have for many years quietly carried the double burden of race and sex discrimination in this country. They have also silently carried the dual responsibilities of working and maintaining a home in order for their families to survive. The conflicts, tensions, and sufferings that such burdens have caused the Asian women have yet to be documented and told. This conference perhaps will mark a real beginning in the process of documenting the history of Asian women in this country. This paper addresses some of the facts surrounding the economic and employment status of Asian women. Our personal experiences tell us about the difficulties of trying to survive at the bottom of the economic ladder. It is important, however, that we have research and statistical data to validate these experiences and to comprehensively uncover the characteristics, the full range, and the severity of these difficulties.

This paper deals with the employment and economic status of Asian-Pacific women in the United States and provides recommendations for areas of research. A bibliography, provided separately, presents a review of the available literature dealing with this subject. One of the major difficulties of research conducted by persons not familiar with the problems of the Asian community or of women is that the problems which need to be addressed are not well formulated or that data are not properly collected or interpreted. Not surprisingly, there has been very little work on the employment and economic status of Asian women. Also, the basic data sources required do not exist or are not readily available.

Asian-Pacific women here are defined as consisting of two groups. "Asian women" are American women who are of Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Thai, and other southeast-Asian descent. Other southeast Asians include Indonesians, Malayans, and Burmese. "Pacific women" are American women of Hawaiian, Samoan, and Guamanian descent. The two groups together then comprise "Asian-Pacific" women. We emphasize, however, that the analyses conducted in the paper are centered on Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women for whom some data are available. They are NOT meant to characterize other Asian-Pacific women as well. Much more data and research are needed for these other groups. Indeed, past studies indicate large differences between these Asian cultures; see, for example, G. Myrdal, Asian Drama Vols. I, II, III (New York: Pantheon, 1968).

Present occupational stratification theory as formulated by Blau, Duncan, Featherman, Sewell, and others was reviewed for this paper. The theory, developed primarily for white men, does not work too well for white women, much less Asian-Pacific women. For this paper, we made no attempt to develop models to explain the economic and employment status of Asian-Pacific women. Instead, we analyzed a set of socioeconomic variables that we believed to be valid based on a review of the state of the art, personal experience, and intuition. These variables (dependent and independent) include:

- Labor force participation rate by age cohort, school enrollment status (for the young adults), marital status, and presence of children
- Occupational status by age cohort and by industry
- Class of worker (private, Government, or self-employed)
- Family income by number of earners per family and poverty level status
- Personal income by age cohort (as a proxy for labor market experience) and by educational attainment
- Head of household status
- Labor market area
- Educational attainment
- And, of course, race/ethnicity, sex, and age.

We analyzed cross-sectional data for the above variables and presented interpretations. Whenever possible, as dictated by data availability, the analysis was carried out by specific Asian ethnicity and by age cohort; also, data aggregated at the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) level were used whenever available, and at the State level when not. In a few instances, only nationwide data were available.

Based on preliminary analysis presented, the paper concludes with recommendations for future work.

ECONOMIC STATUS OF ASIAN WOMEN AS REFLECTED BY LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION PATTERNS

One of the prime indicators of economic status, for nations and for individual groups, is the labor force participation rate. As societies have developed their economies and increased their productive capabilities, smaller work forces have been able to support larger populations of nonworking people. As economic conditions improved, for example, virtually every nation has witnessed the decline of child labor. In our country, we have also seen that large numbers of young adults can remain out of the labor force to get an extended education. We are also seeing more older people able to retire at earlier ages. As table 1 shows, we also see that among white women, (at least in California), fewer than half need to be in paid employment.

TABLE 1

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF ASIAN WOMEN AND WHITE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA: 1970

	Female labor force participation		
Ethnicity	California	San Francisco-Oakland SMSA	Los Angeles-Long Beach SMSA
White			
No., 16 yrs. +	6,532,973	1,004,700	2,313,000
% in labor force	41.5	43.9	43.6
Chinese			
No., 16 yrs. +	58,782	31,352	13,941
% in labor force	51.0	54.0	51.4
Filipino			
No., 16 yrs. +	39,633	14,212	10,540
% in labor force	55.4	58.7	63.1
Japanese			
No., 16 yrs. +	85,811	14,687	40,666
% in labor force	49.6	52.1	53.3
Korean			
No., 16 yrs. +	6,542	No data	3,406
% in labor force	47.0		50.3
Hawaiian			
No., 16 yrs. +	4,544	No data	No data
% in labor force	51.4		

Note: California had the largest population in 1970 of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Koreans, and Hawaiians, combined, totaling 549,307; Hawaii follows with an Asian population of 446,747; New York was third with 120,667 Asians of the ethnic groups specified above; Illinois and Washington follow with 44,077 and 41,052, respectively. These five States accounted for about 80 percent of the total Asian population in the U.S.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G. Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the U.S.

When we come to Asian women, however, we see a different picture. Table 1 shows labor force participation rates for women of various ethnic groups for the State of California and for the major metropolitn areas around San Francisco and Los Angeles. The labor force participation rates for Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, and Hawaiian women are all considerably higher than those for white women. In almost all cases, half or more of the Asian women over 16 years of age are in the work force.

Figure 1 shows the labor force participation rates of Asian women and white women by age cohorts for the 1970 census year. Except for the youngest age group of 16 to 19 years, Asian women of all age groups are in the labor force to a greater extent than white women of similar ages.

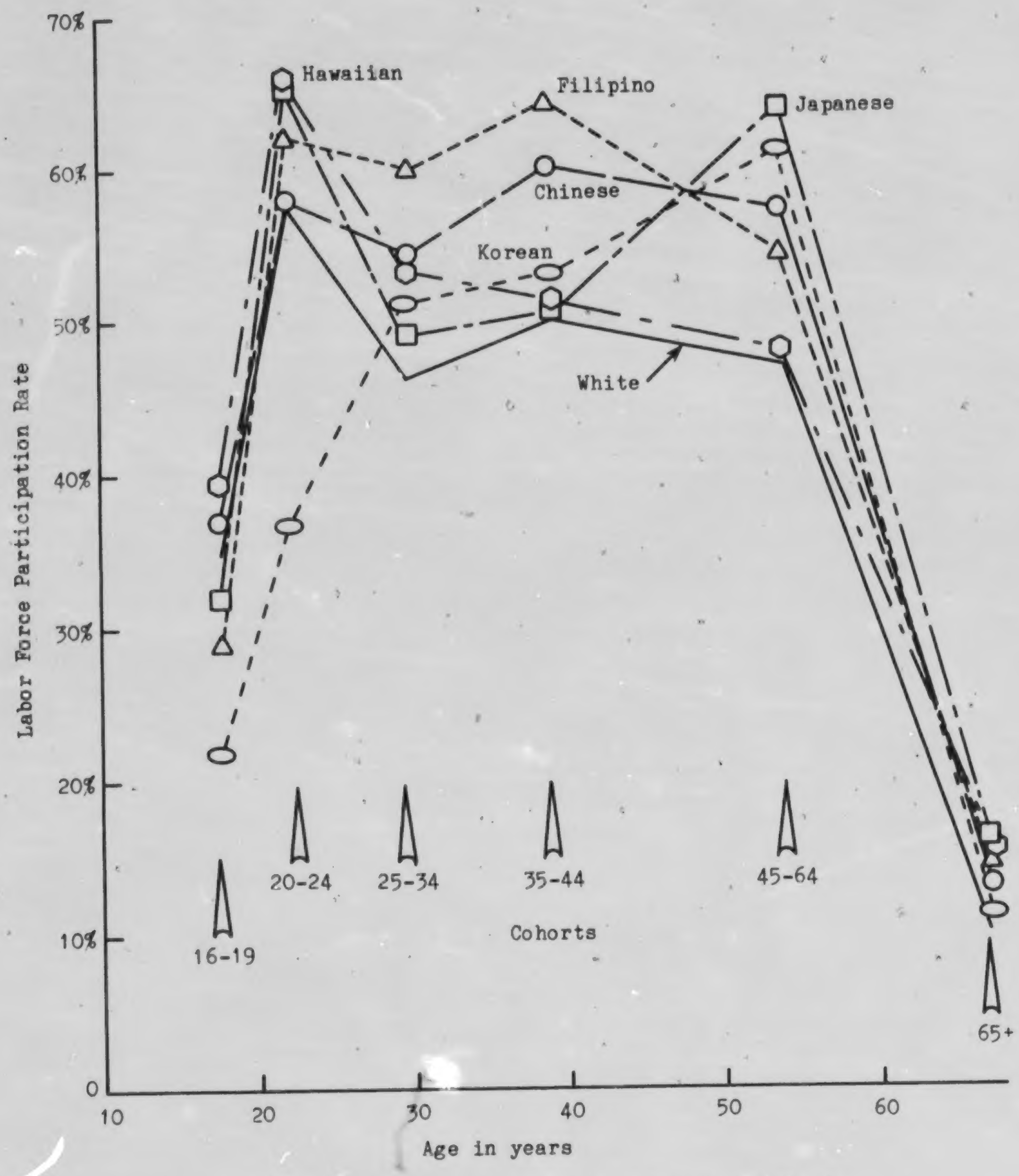
White women are most likely to be in the labor force during their young adult years (ages 20 to 24), when 57 percent of them are working. During their adult years, from age 25 to 64, their labor force participation rates range between 46 percent and 50 percent, and drop to 10 percent among the elderly (65 and over). By contrast, Asian women reach participation rates up to 64 and 65 percent for Japanese, Hawaiian, and Filipino women in various age groups, and to 60 percent for Chinese women. The labor force participation rates peak at different ages for the different ethnic categories: in the early years (20 to 24) for Hawaiian and Japanese women, and again in the 45 to 64 bracket for Japanese; in the middle years (35 to 44) for Filipino and Chinese women, and in the 45 to 64 bracket for Korean women. It must be pointed out that the age patterns are for different age cohorts at the same point in time and not a tracing of one group through the years. How the patterns for the various ethnic groups would vary if we could trace the same women as they grew older is unknown. The factors that would give us some insight into the differences in work force experience of the various groups need to be explored. Differences in immigration rates and characteristics of the immigrants, and differences in marital patterns and childbearing rates are some factors that may account for the rates.

Table 2 presents some meager information on the school enrollment rates for Asian women between 18 and 24 years of age. There are significant percentage differences between the Chinese and Japanese women and the Filipino, Hawaiian, and Korean women in school during these years. Although low school enrollments might account for high labor force activity among the Hawaiian and Filipino women, it would appear that Chinese and Japanese women also work while going to school. Asian women's schooling and work patterns in these early adult years are important areas that need investigation, especially with respect to the impact that these kinds of experiences have on later career ladders and economic opportunities. This may prove to be a critical period for many women.

Figure 2 displays the pattern of labor force participation for the 1960 census year and provides some trend information. Clearly, in the decade between 1960 and 1970, women of every ethnic and age category show a definite increase in work force activity. Again, however, we have little data to verify possible explanations for these changes. Does the

FIGURE 1

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE BY AGE COHORTS OF ASIAN WOMEN AND WHITE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA IN 1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; Final Report PC(1)-DG.

TABLE 2

ASIAN WOMEN, 18-24 YEARS OLD, AND ENROLLED IN SCHOOL, 1970

	Percent Asian women, 18-24 yrs, and enrolled in school				
Area	Chinese	Japanese	Filipino	Korean	Hawaiian
U.S. total	58.2	48.4	23.2	25.5	23.1
California	61.7	53.4	26.6	36.8	23.4
Hawaii	43.9	45.9	23.5	37.1[a]	20.5
Illinois	61.0	37.5	16.7	*	*
New York	56.7	33.1	17.9	29.6[b]	*
Washington	51.1	55.2	28.9	*	*

*Data not available

[a] For Honolulu SMSA

[b] For New York SMSA

Note: In California, white women between the ages of 18 and 24 had a 29 percent enrollment in school.

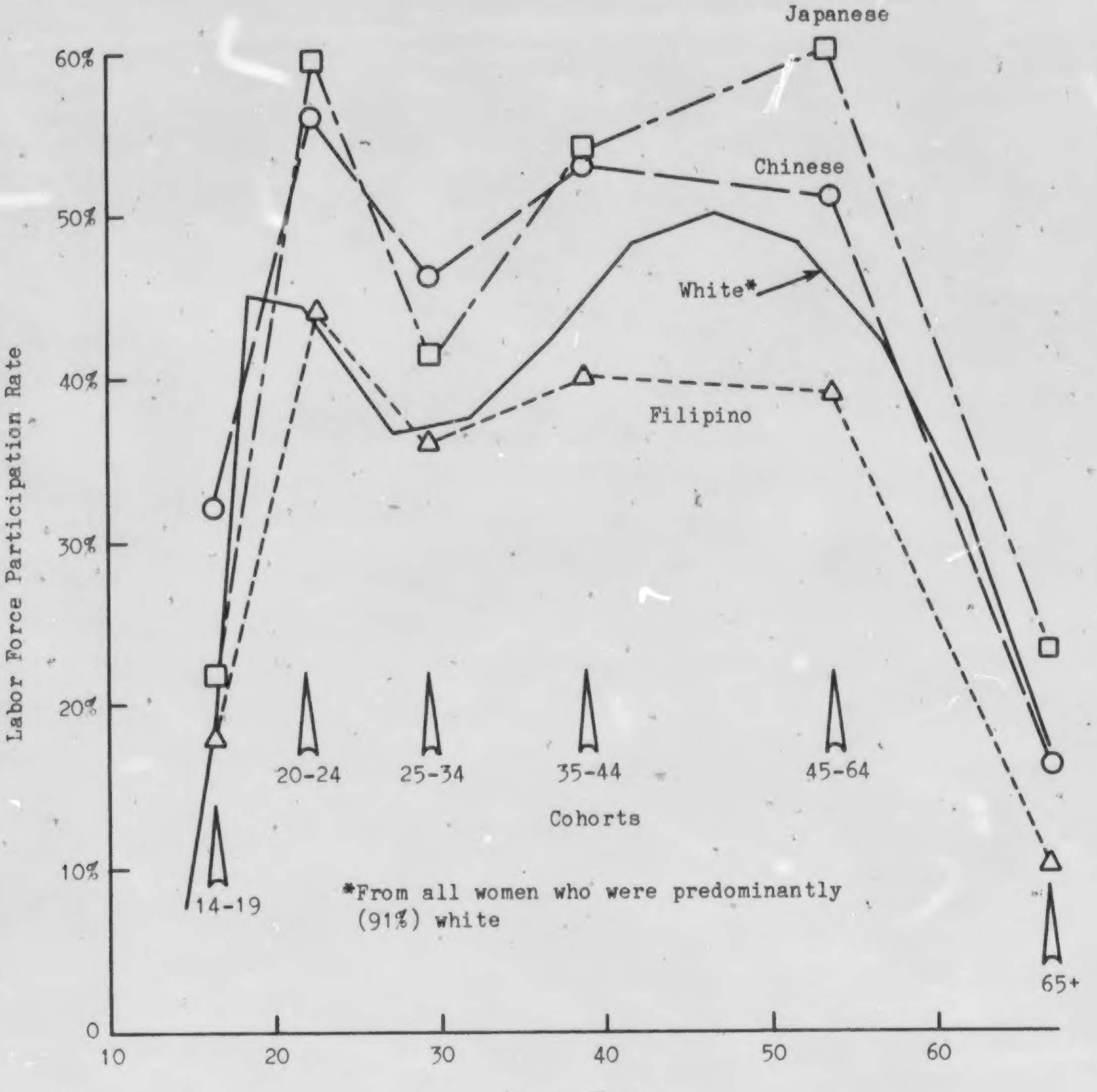
Source:. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

increased labor force activity reflect the impact of the significant immigration of the late 1960's? Does it reflect a worsening of economic conditions; does it reflect response to greater opportunities? Does it reflect changing social patterns with respect to attitudes toward marriage, family formation, and dissolution? Attempts to understand what is happening are frustrated by gravely inadequate information.

Why are Asian women working in the labor force at these high levels of participation? What is the significance of the trend? How are Asian women coping with their employment status? Are they being prepared for dealing with these changes? The questions easily outrun our answers. We do have some important clues, however.

FIGURE 2

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE BY AGE COHORTS OF ASIAN WOMEN AND WHITE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA IN 1960



*From all women who were predominantly (91%) white

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Final Report PC(2)-1C, 1963.

TABLE 3

INCOME OF ASIAN-AMERICANS COMPARED WITH WHITES* IN THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND SMSA IN 1970

	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese	White*
Mean income				
Families	$11,749	$11,081	$13,281	$14,391
Unrelated individuals (14 yrs. +)	$ 3,508	$ 3,490	$ 4,715	$ 5,521
Percent below poverty				
Families	10.6	9.1	5.4	5.0
Unrelated individuals	37.8	32.4	28.7	21.4
All persons	13.2	10.8	7.9	7.4

*White--Estimated as total less blacks, Spanish origin, Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and American Indians.

Source: PHC(1)-189, "San Francisco-Oakland, California SMSA"; PC(2)-1B, "Negro Population"; PC(2)-1G, "Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States"; PC(2)-1D, "Persons of Spanish Surname"; PC(2)-1F, "American Indians."

There is one clear reason why Asian women work in such large numbers. It is a matter of economic necessity and survival. The income and poverty statistics on table 3 make it very clear that the average income of Asian families is considerably lower than that of white families and that the proportion of Asian families and individuals living in poverty is considerably greater than for whites. This is especially true for Chinese and Filipinos. The Japanese population comes closest to matching white levels of affluence. Data are not available for the other Asian ethnic groups.

Table 4 shows that in marked contrast to white families, three out of five families among the Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos have two or more wage earners, and very few families have no wage earners at all. When the fact of multiple wage earners is coupled with the low family incomes shown earlier, it becomes very difficult to avoid concluding that Asian women work to maintain family incomes. Without the earnings contributed by the

TABLE 4

ASIAN FAMILIES BY NUMBER OF EARNERS PER FAMILY, CALIFORNIA AND THE U.S.: 1970

	White	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
California				
Mean size of family	3.83	4.03	4.16	3.65
No. of families	4,532,512	37,437	29,347	49,251
With no earners	9%	4%	6%	4%
With 1 earner	41%	35%	32%	38%
With 2+ earners	50%	61%	62%	58%
United States				
Mean size of family	3.60	4.01	4.03	3.67
No. of families	46,024,000	94,931	71,326	133,927
With no earners	8%	5%	6%	6%
With 1 earner	38%	36%	33%	34%
With 2+ earners	54%	59%	61%	60%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; Final Report PC(1)-D6, Detailed Characteristics, California, pp. 6-2434, 6-2521; Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 37 (1971), pp. 14-45.

women, many more Asian families would be living in poverty. Discrimination against Asian males, which keeps their earning power depressed, makes it essential for women to work. The even more depressed earning power of minority women closes an economic vise so that only extraordinary efforts suffice to keep Asian families out of poverty.

Table 5 shows another employment characteristic of some Asian groups that accounts for low economic status: many more Chinese and Japanese are self-employed than are whites or Filipinos. A corollary of self-employment is a higher than average proportion of unpaid family workers.

TABLE 5

EMPLOYMENT BY CLASS OF WORKER OF ASIAN AND WHITES IN CALIFORNIA, 1970

	White	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
No. employed, 16 yrs. +	6,801,000 100%	72,739 100%	52,838 100%	96,653 100%
Private wage and salary workers	74.4%	69.0%	78.0%	65.7%
Government workers	17.1%	18.3%	18.1%	17.1%
Self-employed workers	8.0%	11.1%	3.7%	15.9%
Unpaid family workers	0.5%	1.6%	0.2%	1.3%

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; Final Report PC(1)-OG, pp. 6-1609 to 6-1614.

A study done by Cathy Chow of ASIAN, INC., on Asian-owned businesses, based on a special census survey, documented the marginal economic status of most of the self-employed. One of the ways the marginal businesses survive is through use of unpaid family workers. It is not clear whether the labor force statistics pick up the younger children who do such work. This table, however, presents data consistent with the pattern observed earlier of high enrollment in school and work force for the Chinese and Japanese women in the 18 to 24 age bracket. What we also do not have data on is the number of women who may work at more than one job, especially those who may contribute to a family-owned business and work in a paid position elsewhere.

Economic Status and Public Assistance

We have seen thus far that a higher proportion of Asian families than white families live in poverty, that Asian families stay out of poverty by combining the meager incomes from several wage earners, that women contribute in large proportion to the work force, and that proportionately fewer Asian families have no wage earners at all.

But how do low-income Asian families survive, especially when family size is also larger than that of whites? Figure 3 and table 6 present some data on Asian families receiving public assistance. Figure 3 compares the percentage of poor families with the percentage of families receiving welfare. The ratios between these two categories are shown in parentheses. The figures suggest that the percentage of poor Asian families on welfare is not disproportionate with the general U.S. population as a whole. In contradiction, though, table 6 shows that when one controls for families in poverty, the Asian proportion receiving public assistance is substantially below that of all races. As we can see, not a lot of data are available; but the pattern is clear where we have data. We must despair over the large proportions (80 to 90 percent) of poor families, whether headed by men or women, who receive no assistance. How are they surviving? What is happening to the children in these families?

What figure 3 and table 6 suggest is that we need much more disaggregated data to understand the public assistance picture. Welfare programs are of a very specific nature, with complicated eligibility

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF ALL POVERTY HOUSEHOLDS
RECEIVING PUBLIC ASSISTANCE: 1970

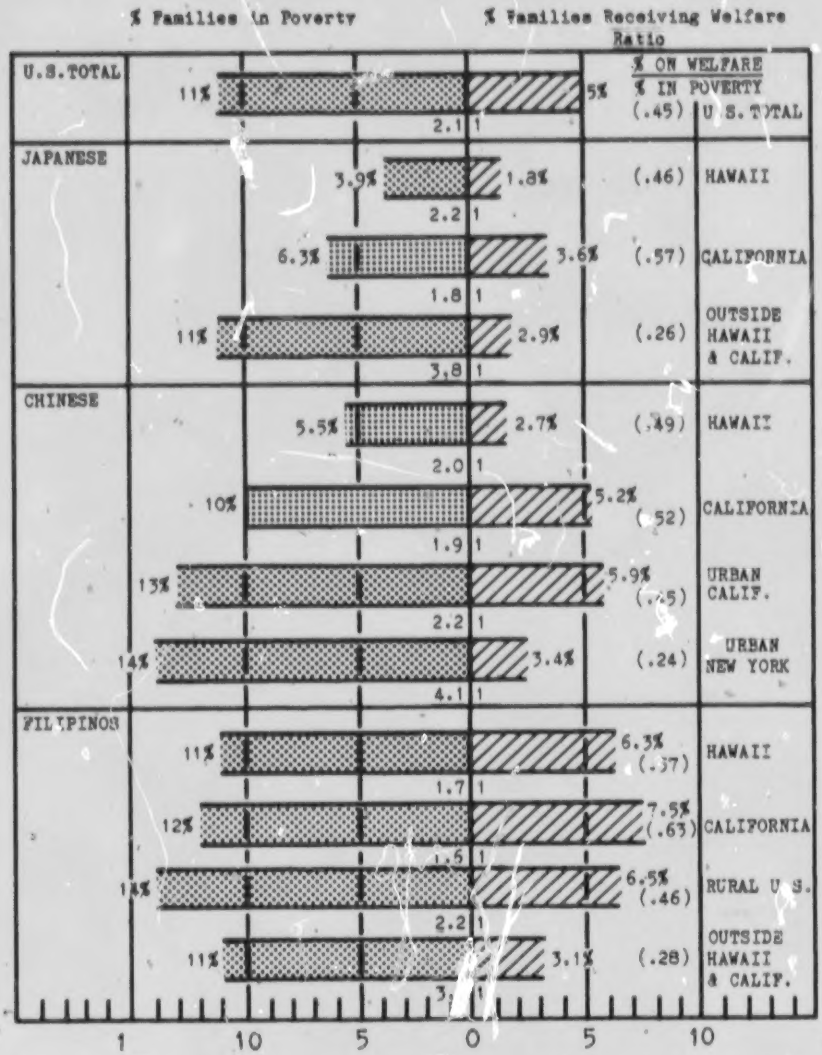
	All families	Female head families	Unrelated individuals
San Francisco, Calif.			
All races	31	48	13
Japanese	NA	NA	NA
Chinese	10	19	14
Filipino	19	NA	8
Los Angeles, Calif.			
All races	34	51	13
Japanese	12	37	4
Chinese	5	NA	9
Filipino	8	NA	4
New York County, N.Y.			
All races	39	58	15
Chinese*	2	0	12**

*Census Tracts in and near New York's Chinatown only.
**Includes 16 percent blacks.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, "Operation Leap" Tabulations (unpublished); Subject Report: Low Income Areas in Large Cities PC(2)-9B.

FIGURE 3

ASIAN-AMERICAN POVERTY AND WELFARE DATA FOR SELECTED AREAS



Source: HEW, Office of Special Concerns, Office of Asst. Secty. for Planning & Evaluation, A Study of Selected Social Economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities, Vol. II: Asian Americans.

requirements which vary according to State regulations. Figure 3 tends to be misleading as it compares poverty, as defined by income guidelines, with public assistance which does not depend on income eligibility requirements only. Welfare or public assistance programs are limited to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), old-age assistance (non-social security), aid to blind and other handicapped, and general assistance. What we need to know is what proportion of Asian families receive assistance compared to those who are eligible to receive it, and how Asians differ from other population groups by this criterion. Certainly, cultural and family structure factors affect AFDC eligibility, which requires parents to be absent from the family. Presumably, the handicapped would not vary because of ethnic factors. General assistance eligibility requirements would have to be studied comprehensively to determine whether Asians differ significantly from other groups.

ECONOMIC, EMPLOYMENT, AND MARITAL STATUS OF ASIAN WOMEN

It would be important to know how many young Asian women believe that their work life will be ended when they are married. If young women believe they will be in the labor force only temporarily, until they are married or until they have children, they may be making decisions that affect their ultimate future and economic security in a way that results in continuing their position at the bottom of the economic ladder. Although it is true that married women have a lower labor force participation rate than single women, and that women with children under 6 have lower work force rates than married women, the probability that an Asian woman will end up working is still high. One out of two married Asian women work, compared with two out of five white women. Among those with children under 6, 42 percent of the Filipino women, 33 percent of the Chinese women, and 25 percent of the Japanese women work. As we saw in figure 1, there is a drop in labor force participation rates among all groups of women in the 25 to 34 age bracket. But we also see increases in the labor force participation rates among women in the 35 to 44 age group. Undoubtedly, the years between 25 and 34 are prime childbearing years. Figures 4A and 4B show in a bar graph the proportion of families with and without young children where the wives work even though husbands are present. In every case, except for Japanese families with young children, Asian women continue to work in higher proportions than in white families.

This information could be significant for counseling young Asian women on their economic future, their career choices, and their educational choices. It is also important for young women who are already in the work force to understand what the future may hold for them so they can begin to improve their economic status.

Tables 7A and 7B display information on the marital status of Asian women in general and of those who are heads of households in particular. Table 7A (which relates to California as a whole) shows that Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women remain single in higher proportions than do white women. The reasons for this pattern certainly need to be explored: the differences could be the result of a different age structure, especially as the age structure may be altered by immigration patterns.

FIGURE 4A

LABOR FORCE STATUS OF MARRIED ASIAN AND WHITE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA IN 1970

PERCENT WITH WIFE EMPLOYED, HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES

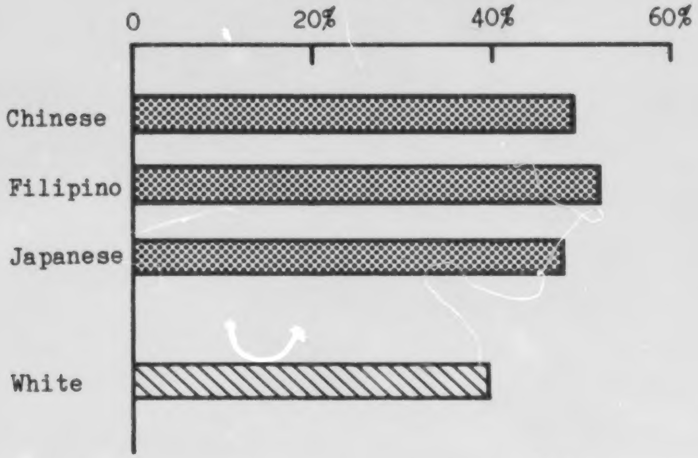
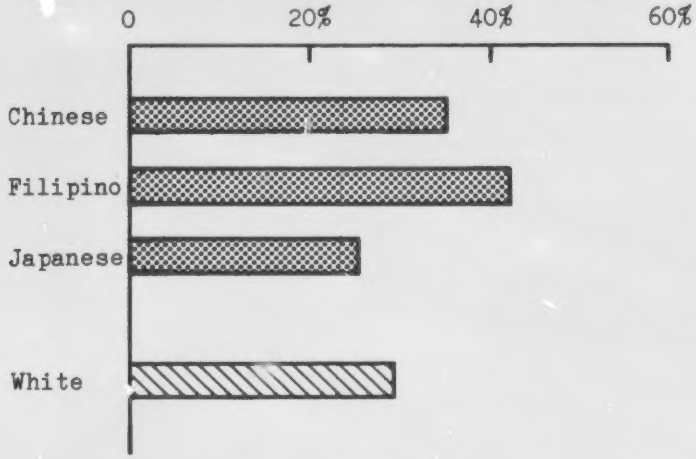


FIGURE 4B

PERCENT WITH WIFE EMPLOYED, HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN UNDER 6 YEARS OLD



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; Final Report PC(1)-D6.

TABLE 7A

MARITAL STATUS OF ASIAN WOMEN AND WHITE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA: 1970
(percent)

Marital Status	Chinese		Filipino		Japanese		White	
No., 16 yrs. +	58,782		39,633		85,811		6,531,782[a]	
Single	28.7		25.5		21.0		17.0	
Married with husband present	57.1		59.5		63.5		60.6	
Separated	0.9	14.3	1.4	14.9	1.1	15.5	2.0	22.4
Husband absent	2.4		6.8		2.3		1.8	
Widowed	9.0		4.2		8.8		11.8	
Divorced	2.0		2.5		3.3		6.8	

[a] 14 yrs. + for whites.

Source: 1970 Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; 1970 Census, Subject Report PC(1)-D5.

TABLE 7B

MARITAL STATUS OF FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD IN URBAN CALIFORNIA, 1970
(percent)

Marital status	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
Single	13.1	14.7	14.3
Separated	6.2	8.0	9.2
Other married	9.1	35.6	15.4
Divorced	20.9	18.7	27.4
Widowed	50.8	23.1	33.7

Source: 1970 Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

Table 7B, which relates to the urban areas within California, shows that widowhood is the primary factor making Chinese and Japanese women heads of households. For Filipino women, widowhood is also a significant category, but it is outranked by husbands who are absent as the factor making them household heads. A substantial proportion of female household heads are divorced or separated.

Table 7C shows the occupational distribution of Asian and white women who are heads of households in urban California areas. A substantial proportion of Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women are employed in the professional occupations where their opportunities to earn a decent living on which to support a family are better than for most other occupations. However, the majority of Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women are concentrated in the clerical, operative, and service categories, where salaries are poor. Thus, women who become heads of households for the various reasons indicated above have a hard time earning enough income to support a family.

In the study on Asian-Americans put out by the Office of Special Concerns of HEW (1975), it was reported that the large increase in labor force participation between 1960 and 1970 for Asian women was primarily among married women. In 1960 about 10 percent of Asian wives worked. By 1970, half of the married women worked.

The conclusion from these various statistics is that there are many reasons to expect that Asian women will continue to work: economic necessity because of the depressed earnings of Asian men, changing social attitudes toward remaining single or becoming divorced, widowhood, and a desire for a higher standard of living. Asian women need to be prepared to be in the labor force for most of their lives. Because employment is a dominant fact of life for Asian women, it is imperative that we address the issue of how the earning power of Asian women (and men) can be improved.

FACTORS DEPRESSING THE EARNING POWER OF ASIAN WOMEN: EFFECTS OF EDUCATION, AGE, AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION ON EARNING POWER

Data are available to document the depressed earning levels of Asian women compared with other women and men. Table 8, taken from Betty Sung's book, Chinese American Manpower and Employment, shows the proportion of Chinese women who earned $10,000 or more in 1970, compared to black and white women and to Chinese, black, and white men. The table also documents what was said earlier about the earnings of Asian men: substantially fewer Chinese men earn $10,000 or more compared to white men with the same educational background.

With respect to women, the table shows dramatically how all women earn substantially less than men at each comparable education level. When Chinese women are compared with black and white women, the picture is mixed. At the high school graduate level, more Chinese women than white or black women earn over $10,000. For college-educated women, Chinese

TABLE 7C

NUMBER AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN AND WHITE FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN URBAN CALIFORNIA, 1970

	White[a]	Chinese	Filipino	Japanese
No. of female heads of household	470,843	2,916	2,572	4,674
% of all families	10.7%	7.9%	9.3%	10.1%
No. of employed female heads	273,781	1,831	1,512	3,060
Professionals	15.9%	18.5%	25.1%	14.5%
Managers	5.7	5.6	0.7	4.0
Sales	6.2	3.8	2.8	4.2
Clerical	38.8	29.5	30.2	37.3
Crafts	14.6	2.2	1.9	2.2
Operatives	-	25.9	12.2	14.4
Laborers	0.8	1.1	0.5	0.9
Farmers	-	0.6	-	0.4
Farm laborers	0.6	0.2	-	0.9
Service workers	15.6	11.6	24.3	15.2
Private household workers	1.9	1.0	2.3	5.8

[a] Total State: urban plus rural.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; Final Report PC(1)-D6, pp. 6-2347, 6-2693.

TABLE 8

INCOME OF CHINESE WOMEN COMPARED WITH
OTHER WOMEN AND MEN
U.S., 1970

	% with income of $10,000 or more	
High school graduates	Male	Female
White	32.5%	2.4%
Black	10.4	0.9
Chinese	20.9	2.6
College graduates		
White	59.6	10.2
Black	35.3	11.2
Chinese	38.3	9.3
Postgraduates		
White	67.1	27.7
Black	53.0	34.2
Chinese	50.9	13.3

Source: Table 24 of B. L. Sung, Chinese American Manpower and Employment, p. 94. Based on 1970 Census data, Sung also states: "One third of the Chinese females who have ever attended college are in clerical work. More school does not mean better pay for the Chinese."

fare worse than black or white. At postgraduate levels, black and white women do markedly better in earning incomes over $10,000.

Although it is clear that more education improves earning for Chinese women and that women should continue to pursue education, it is also clear that Chinese women do not do as well as they could when compared with the achievements of black and white women.

Table 9 compares the earnings of Japanese, Filipino, and Chinese women with those of white women in the San Francisco-Oakland area. The proportion of Asian women who graduate from college is considerable and matches or exceeds that of white women. Despite the high educational attainment levels, the proportions who earn $10,000 or more are pitifully small: between 2 and 4 percent. This is miniscule compared to 60 percent of the Chinese male college graduates.

TABLE 9

EDUCATIONAL AND EARNINGS COMPARISON
OF ASIAN WOMEN AND WHITE WOMEN IN
THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND SMSA

	Japanese	Chinese	Filipino	White
Percent earning more than $10,000[a]	4.36	2.49	2.15	5.27
Percent college graduates[b]	28.3	23.0	36.5	24.0

[a] Over age 16 for Asian women, over age 18 for white women.

[b] For ages 25-34.

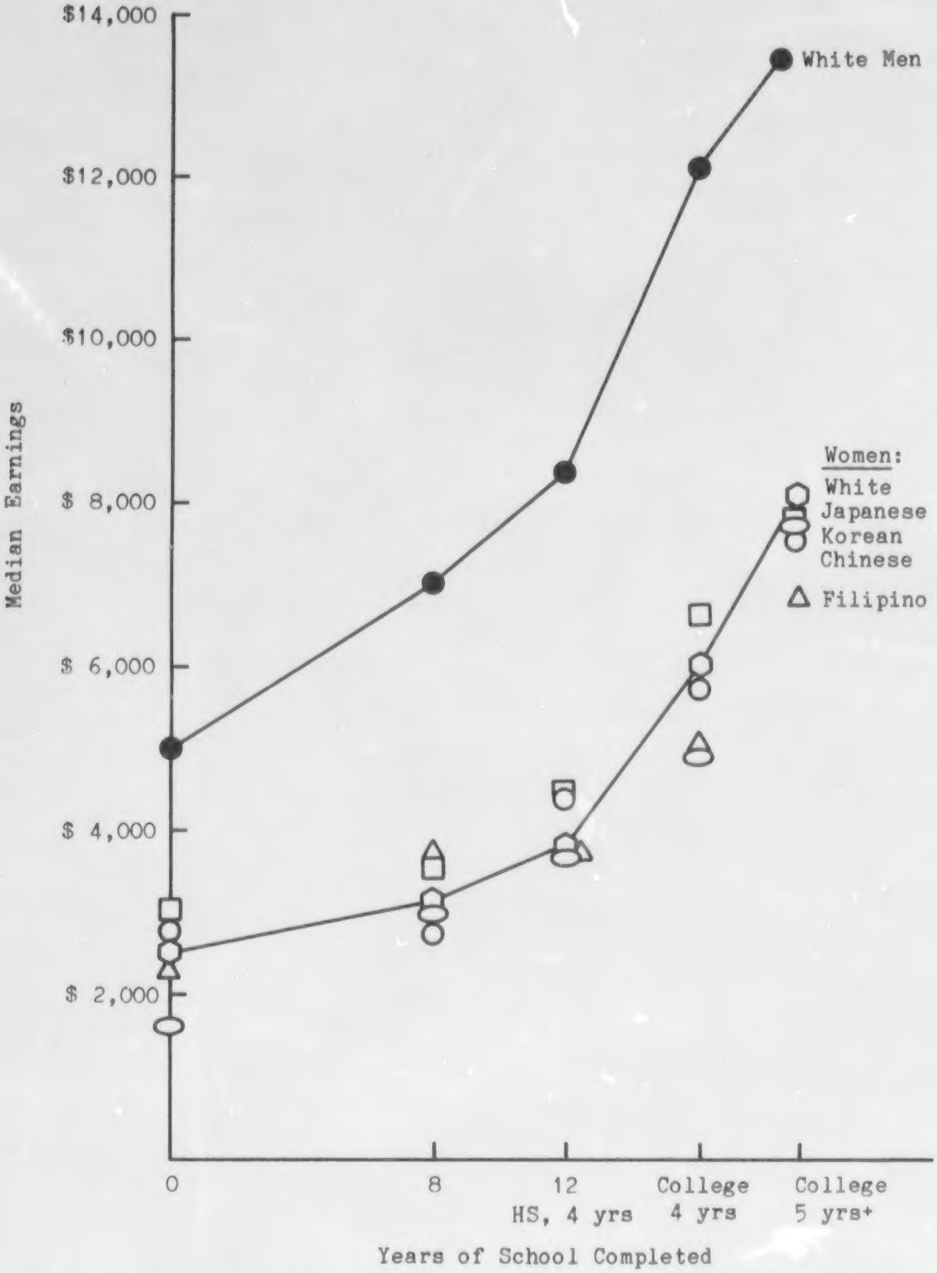
Source: 1970 Census.

A major implication of these facts on earnings and education is that Asian women must begin to deal with the present realities of the employment world and to struggle for change if they expect their economic lot to improve. Asian women do not escape from work through marriage. If Asian women are going to be in the labor force, it is time to start getting paid at salaries commensurate with their skills, ability, and training.

Figure 5 shows the gap between the earning power of white men and that of white women and various Asian women. It also shows that Asian women by ethnic category vary in their relative earning positions for each education level. A striking pattern that needs explanation is why Asian women fall behind white women in earning power as their level of education goes up. What are the characteristics of women who go on to higher education compared to those who do not? What are the characteristics of the educated Asian women compared to their white female counterparts? Is something happening in the educational process that discriminates against the Asian woman or that prepares her less well to compete in the job

FIGURE 5

MEDIAN EARNINGS BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF WHITE MEN, WHITE WOMEN, AND ASIAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. IN 1969



Source: G. L. Wilber et al., Orientals in the American Labor Market, Vol. II (Springfield, Va.: NTIS, 1976), p. 141.

market? Are differences in assertiveness responsible for earning differences? Are occupational or industrial choices or barriers explanations for the earnings differential? Do the differences reflect racial discrimination that white women do not encounter? Do age differences or differences in the length or quality of work experience of Asian and white women account for the earning power differences? The true status of Asian women is by no means clear.

We know from table 2 that Chinese and Japanese women are still heavily enrolled in school in the 18 to 24 age group. Are they going to school part time and working, thereby taking longer to finish school? Or do they have more total years of education? Do they enter their chosen "career" job at a later age than white women, so that the difference in length of job experience accounts for some of the earnings differences? This explanation, however, tends to be contradicted by the cross-sectional data on the Korean and Filipino women. Filipino women show the biggest gap relative to white women. None of the data presently available are broken down in sufficient detail to enable us to explore the hypotheses further.

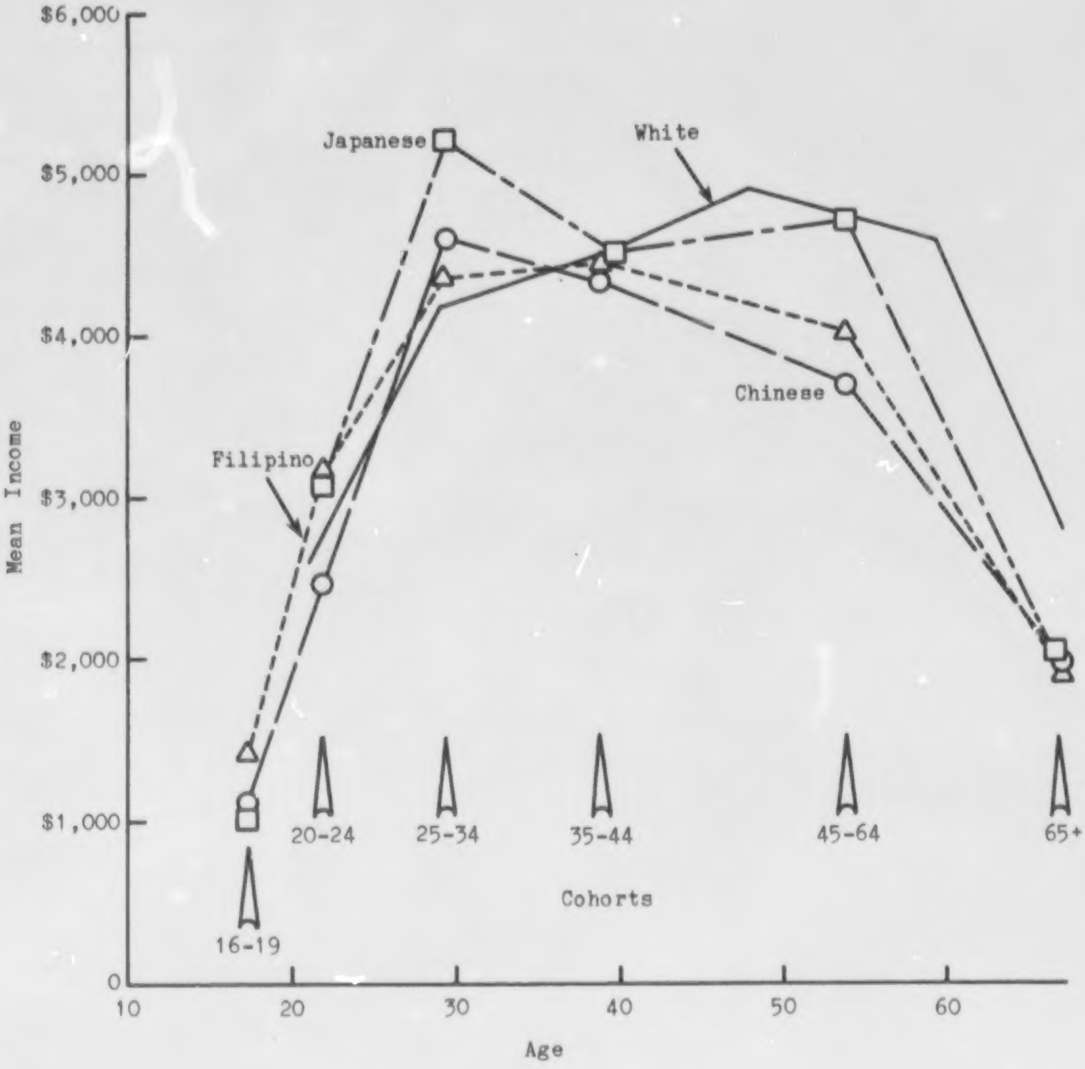
A critical research problem exists if we cannot develop data from raw sources that permit reaggregation to test alternative hypotheses. Once data are published in certain aggregates, we cannot manipulate them. Hence, we recommend that for the 1980 census, researchers be provided with raw data on each group of Asian-Pacific women.

Figure 6 provides additional information, but does not help a lot to explain the differences between Asian and white women. This figure shows mean income by age groups for Filipino, Japanese, Chinese, and white women. In the younger age cohorts, the Asian women hold their own or do better than white women. In the 34-and-over age group, white women outearn all Asian women, except for one brief period when Japanese women reached their peak at about age 54. Comparing figure 1 with figure 6 gives a little weight to the possibility that white women build up a longer steady work experience that may account for higher average earnings. Figure 1 shows that more Filipino and Chinese women are in the labor force at 35 to 44 than in the 20 to 24 group. Remembering that these are cross-sectional and not longitudinal data, it is more likely that new immigrants and other new entrants to the labor force are exerting some downward pressure on average earning. Longitudinal data or data on earnings by length of time, cumulative and unbroken, in the labor force are needed to properly analyze the earnings situation.

Remembering also that figure 6 shows cross-sectional data, the younger Asian women in 1970 as a group probably had higher education levels than did the other Asian women, explaining the income differences in their age cohort. Older white women possibly have more education than older Asian women, accounting for the difference in incomes. In the younger age groups, Asian women have more years of education than white women, accounting for their higher earnings. This is in fact borne out by figure 7, which shows the educational levels by age groupings.

FIGURE 6

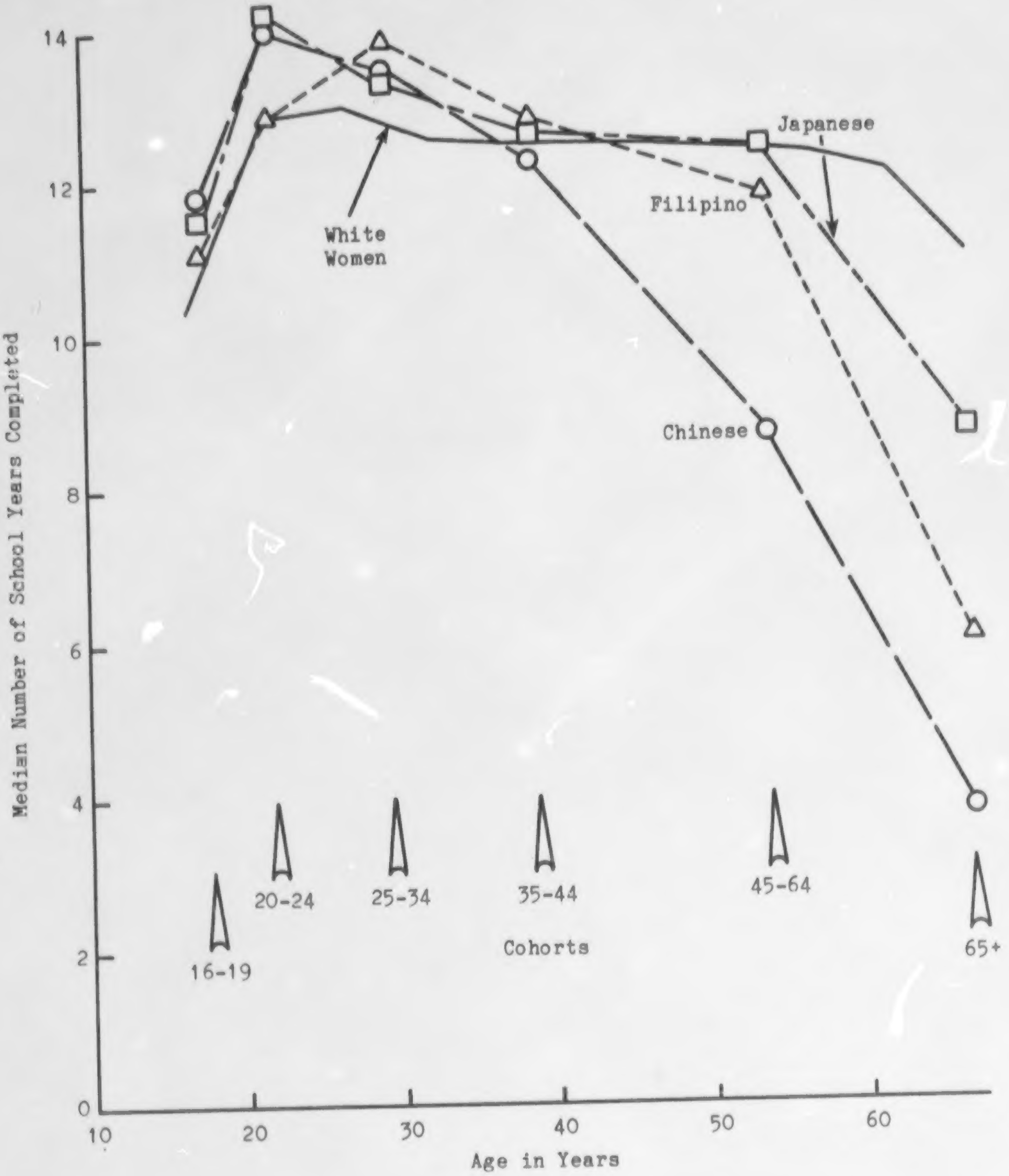
MEAN INCOME BY AGE COHORTS OF ASIAN WOMEN AND WHITE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA IN 1969



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G, Final Report PC(1)-D6.

FIGURE 7

EDUCATIONAL STATUS BY AGE COHORTS OF ASIAN WOMEN AND WHITE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA IN 1970



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G; Final Report PC(1)-D6.

Figures 6 and 7 together give us some encouragement that the higher levels of education of various Asian women are reflected in higher earnings compared to white women. Thus, discrimination in favor of white women may not be the major factor holding Asian women back.

The difficulty is trying to understand the picture presented in tables 8 and 9 and figure 5, compared to that in figures 6 and 7. It is essential to develop data on education and earnings controlled by cohorts followed over time. How the data[1] are aggregated in figures 5, 6, and 7 and tables 8 and 9 is critical and may account for the apparent contradictions. Cross-sectional data and two-way tables are insufficient. We need to move to multiple regressions and other analytical tools to assess the relative influence of different factors affecting the economic and employment status of working women. We need to develop the theoretical framework that will generate hypotheses to be tested, suggest what data need to be gathered and in what format, and permit systematic and statistically valid tests.

Another clue about what happens to depress the earning power of women appears in figure 8, which shows earnings for white men and white women in California with similar educational levels, but by age cohorts. Although white men start out with higher earnings than white women with the same education in the 18 to 24 age group, the differential is relatively small. By the 25 to 34 age group, however, the differential has already become very substantial, with men earning twice or almost twice as much as women with similar educational status.

If we look back at figure 1, which shows the labor force participation rates by age group, we see that many Asian and white women quit working between the ages of 25 and 34. At the very point when men begin to develop their careers and move upward, women are interrupting theirs. By age 35 to 44, when these women are reentering the work force, men's earning capacity is triple theirs. How this interruption disrupts the Asian women's earning ability needs detailed examination. Again, longitudinal and cohort data are critical to proper analysis, and special studies which can delve into these issues are badly needed.

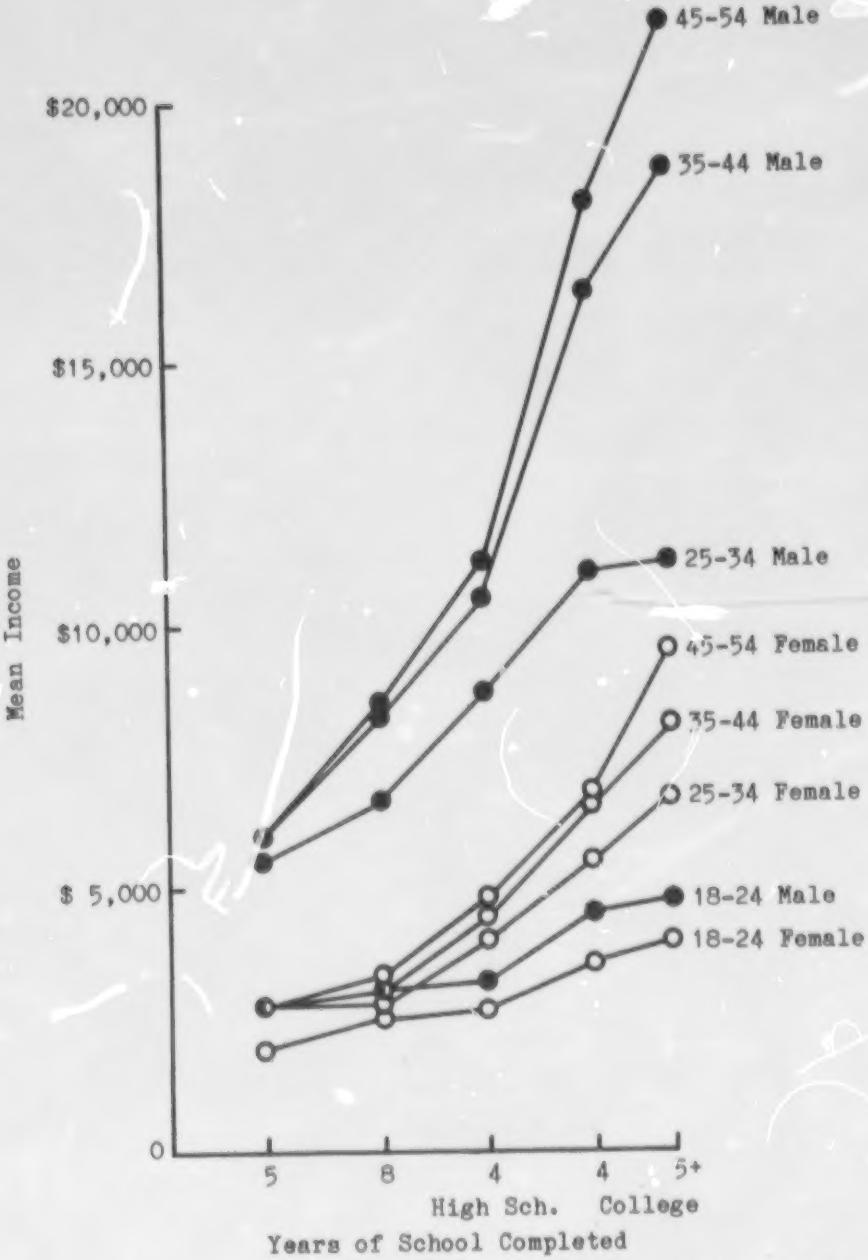
OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION THEORY

The factors that account for the earning power of Asian women will undoubtedly be complex. Earning power is a result of many variables: education, skills, language, occupational choice, industry where employed, geography, age, immigration status, cultural and psychological attitudes toward work, aspirations, career, family, and marriage. The effect of race and sex discrimination intertwines with all those factors, making it most difficult to isolate clearly the impact of any variable.

Much theorizing and research has been done about men and other ethnic groups. Drawing on some of the theoretical work conducted in other areas and testing their applicability to each of the Asian women's groupings can provide some assistance in our exploration of what is relevant to our

FIGURE 8

MEAN INCOME BY EDUCATION OF AGE COHORTS OF WHITE MEN AND WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA IN 1969



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Final Report PC(1)-D6, 1972, p. 2, 305.

population. One of the more interesting studies was reported by Blau and Duncan in The American Occupational Structure (1967). These writers found that, while socioeconomic origins (as measured from a father's education and occupation) had a considerable influence on a son's occupational status, the son's own education and early career had a more pronounced influence on his eventual occupational status. Early career status was approximately measured from the status of the first job. Education had the strongest effect on occupational status, followed by first job status.

Another study by Sewell and Hauser, Education, Occupation, and Earnings: Achievement in the Early Career (1975), analyzed longitudinally a large sample of male Wisconsin high school students who graduated in 1957. Education was again found to have the strongest influence on occupation and earnings, although few of the variables affecting occupation had a significant effect on earnings.

Although education does not guarantee high earnings to Asian women, the Asian women who do receive high earnings are the educated women. In other words, with education, an Asian woman has a chance, albeit small, to achieve high earnings. Without education, the chance is negligible. Thus, as the barriers of race and sex discrimination are eliminated, the educated women will be the first to benefit. This is another reason why it is important to explore how young Asian women make their education and occupation choices.

The importance of first jobs and early careers is an area which should be explored for Asian women. One can easily understand why first or early jobs are critical to subsequent labor force mobility. Job experience and opportunities to develop and undertake increasingly diverse and responsible assignments are vital factors in promotions. If first jobs tend to be dead-end jobs, upward earnings mobility is likely to be restricted.

We need to know what kinds of first jobs Asian women get; whether successful Asian women are those whose first job differed significantly from that of Asian women with low earnings; whether Asian women work while getting their education; and whether this pattern disrupts their early career. We need to know how discrimination affects their critical education and early career choices.

Discrimination can take several forms:

1. Occupational discrimination: do Asian women with education and other qualifications end up in lower status occupations than others with similar education and qualifications?

2. Economic discrimination: do Asian women receive lower wages than others in the same occupations?

3. Educational discrimination: do Asian women receive unequal preparation for jobs compared to others?

In this section we will examine the occupational patterns of Asian women and try to suggest some explanations for them.

Table 10 displays a measure of occupational status for Asian women. Data are from George Wilber et al. (1975). Wilber has constructed an occupational "score" to assign relative status to various occupations and to reflect education, income, and labor market experience. For example, lawyers and judges score .98, civil engineers .88, social workers .72, nurses .48, postal clerks .46, carpenters .37, secretaries .32, and waiters .04. Table 10 shows the scores assigned to Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino women. White men and white women are shown as question marks to

TABLE 10

OCCUPATIONAL SCORE OF ASIAN WOMEN

	Education		
SMSA	Less than high school	High school	College, 1 yr. or more
Honolulu			
Japanese women	.17	.26	.44
Chinese women	.17	.28	.51
Filipino women	.16	.22	.33
White men	?	?	?
White women	?	?	?
San Francisco			
Japanese women	.11	.24	.41
Chinese women	.12	.26	.37
Filipino women	.22	.23	.37
White men	?	?	?
White women	?	?	?
Los Angeles			
Japanese women	.12	.24	.42
Chinese women	.10	.24	.46
Filipino women	.20	.21	.41
White men	?	?	?
White women	?	?	?
Chicago			
Japanese women	-	.32	.53
Chinese women	.13	-	.47
Filipino women	-	-	.48
White men	?	?	?
White women	?	?	?

TABLE 10 (cont.)

SMSA	Education Less than high school	 High school	 College, 1 yr. or more
New York			
Japanese women	-	.26	.51
Chinese women	.10	.23	.41
Filipino women	-	-	.54
White men	?	?	?
White women	?	?	?

- Statistics inadequate for scoring

Source: G. Wilber et al. (Volume III: Tables 7E, 7F, and 7G).

protest Wilber's failure to provide information which would have been most useful for comparison. Clearly, higher scores are correlated with more education. There are also important geographical differences. A better understanding of labor market differences in the various cities and regions could be most helpful in counseling our population groups. Asians are a mobile group, especially the immigrants. Information about differences in job market opportunities and acceptance could be valuable in helping the mobile Asians to improve their economic status. In general, however, Asian women score at the low end of the scale.

Table 11 compares Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women with white women and white men in the San Francisco-Oakland metropolitan area by broad occupation category. Clearly, fewer Chinese, Filipino, or Japanese women reach the upper level professional/technician or manager/administrator ranks. As for white women, the clerical occupations are the single largest category of employment. Chinese women fall heavily into the operatives rank, which is explained primarily by their concentration in the garment industry. Service work (especially food and cleaning services) is another major occupation in which Asian women are concentrated. For Japanese women--mainly older women--private household work is an important occupation category. Few Asian women are found in sales work, craft, laborer, and farm work occupations.

Table 12 provides data on the education levels of Chinese women in some of the clerical occupations, for garment workers (sewers and stitchers), food service workers, and retail sales persons. Retail sales, food service, and sewing factory work are occupations for Chinese women who have little education, and, except for sewing work, for large numbers of women with a college education. The office clerical positions show high proportions of college-educated women. Even more disheartening is

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIAN WOMEN WITH THAT OF WHITE MEN AND WHITE WOMEN IN THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND SMSA: 1970

Occupation	Occupational distribution				
	White men*	White women*	Chinese women	Filipino women	Japanese women
Professionals/technicians	20.9%	19.9%	10.9%	14.7%	16.5%
Managers/administrators	14.6	5.3	3.2	1.9	3.4
Sales workers	9.8	8.9	5.8	2.8	4.7
Clerical workers	9.2	45.1	38.2	50.8	39.8
Crafts workers	19.9	1.4	1.6	1.0	1.8
Operatives	12.6	5.2	26.3	6.4	7.7
Laborers	4.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.6
Farmers/managers	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
Farm laborers			0.2	0.5	1.5
Service workers	7.9	11.6	11.1	18.7	12.3
Private household workers	0.1	2.0	2.2	2.5	11.5
All occupations	575,002 (100%)	361,281 (100%)	16,279 (100%)	7,963 (100%)	7,464 (100%)

*Total minus blacks, Asian-Americans (Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos), Spanish-surnamed Americans, and American Indians.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Reports: PC(2)-1G "Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States"; PC(2)-1B "Negro Population"; PC(2)-1F "American Indians"; PC(2)-1D "Persons of Spanish Surname"; PHC(1)-189 "San Francisco-Oakland, Calif. SMSA."

the high proportion of college-educated women working in low-level food service work. It is highly probable that the retail sales and food service work includes women who work in family-owned businesses. It would be useful to know how many of these work outside the business in another job.

Table 13 shows in fine detail the specific types of jobs found within the broad occupational classes. This level of detail is valuable because it provides some important insights on the problems of Asian women. One of the significant facts it reveals is that Asian women occupy the lower end of the professional/technician classification. Asian women are accountants, nurses, and health technicians, rather than lawyers, judges, physicians, or engineers.

TABLE 12

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF CHINESE WOMEN EMPLOYED IN SIX DETAILED OCCUPATIONS WHERE THEY ARE CONCENTRATED: U.S., 1970

	No. of employed Chinese females, 16 yrs. +	Distribution by educational level			
Occupation		Elementary 0-8 yrs.	High school, 1-4 yrs.	College 1-3 yrs.	College 4 yrs. +
Sales clerk, retail trade	2,458	34%	38%	24%	4%
Bookkeeper	2,166	0%	44%	37%	19%
Office machine operator	1,605	0%	61%	22%	17%
Secretaries, stenographers and typists	6,129	1%	56%	36%	7%
Sewers and stitchers	10,607	72%	23%	5%	0%
Food service workers (waitresses, dishwashers, etc.)	5,567	32%	40%	22%	6%

Source: B. L. Sung, Chinese American Manpower and Employment (Springfield, Va.: NTIS, 1975), pp. 90-92, 115-118.

TABLE 13

EMPLOYMENT BY DETAILED OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYMENT LEVELS OF ASIAN AMERICANS FOR ALL INDUSTRIES IN THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND SMSA IN 1970

	Sex	No. of Asians/ no. of all races	% Asian by sex	z-value*	Assessed level of employment
Managers and administrators, salaried					
Manufacturing	M	147/9435	1.6%	-8.6	Low
	F	NA		-17.4	Low
Wholesale/retail trade	M	512/12475	4.1%	+3.0	Low
	F	75/2014	3.7%	-17.9	Low
Transportation/ communication and other public utilities	M	101/5398	1.9%	-5.2	Low
	F	NA		-13.1	Low
Managers and administrators, self-employed					
Construction	M	32/2019	1.6%	-3.9	Low
	F	NA		-8.0	Low
Manufacturing	M	75/1172	6.4%	+6.5	Fair
	F	NA		-6.1	Low
Wholesale/retail trade	M	825/6053	13.6%	+40.3	High
	F	171/1280	13.4%	-3.8	Low
Managers and administrators					
Buyers/purchasing agents and sales managers	M	494/13787	3.6%	-1.3	Low
	F	105/3059	3.4%	-18.5	Low
School administrators	M	54/2367	2.3%	-5.4	Low
	F	7/1166	0.6%	-10.0	Low

TABLE 13 (cont.)

	Sex	No. of Asians/ no. of all races	% Asian by sex	z-value*	Assessed level of employment
Managers and administrators					
Managers and administrators in public administration	M	217/5775	3.8%	+2.9	Low
	F	NA		-13.6	Low
Professional, technical, and kindred workers					
Accountants	M	1094/12268	8.9%	+25.8	High
	F	446/4401	10.1%	-3.2	Low
Architects	M	220/2296	9.6%	+17.9	High
	F	NA		-8.6	Low
Computer specialists	M	349/4920	7.1%	+10.1	Fair
	F	158/1739	9.1%	-3.4	Low
Civil engineers	M	707/5839	12.1%	+39.7	High
	F	NA		-13.7	Low
Elec./electronic engineers	M	413/5374	7.7%	+19.4	High
	F	NA		-13.1	Low
Mechanical engineers	M	242/3711	6.5%	+12.0	Fair
	F	NA		-10.9	Low
Lawyers and judges	M	72/6160	1.2%	-8.7	Low
	F	NA		-14.0	Low
Life/physical scientists	M	403/4801	8.4%	+17.3	High
	F	111/888	12.5%	-5.0	Low
Dentists	M	184/2211	8.3%	+14.2	High
	F	NA		-8.4	Low
Physicians	M	284/6613	4.3%	+5.6	Low
	F	NA		-14.5	Low

TABLE 13 (cont.)

	Sex	No. of Asians/ no. of all races	% Asian by sex	z-value*	Assessed level of employment
Professional, technical, and kindred workers					
Registered nurses	M	NA		-22.6	Low
	F	983/15919	6.2%	+22.4	Fair
Health technicians	M	235/1805	13.0%	+5.7	High
	F	403/3466	11.6%	+19.0	High
Religious workers	M	163/2473	6.6%	+10.0	Fair
	F	NA		-8.9	Low
Social scientists	M	82/2439	3.4%	-1.9	Low
	F	12/829	1.4%	-9.0	Low
Social and recreation workers	M	224/3507	6.4%	-2.4	Low
	F	237/4941	4.8%	-1.6	Low
Teachers: college/university	M	328/7337	4.5%	+1.0	-
	F	120/2705	4.4%	-11.0	Low
elementary and prekindergarten	M	107/3394	3.2%	-23.1	Low
	F	733/19746	3.7%	+0.6	-
secondary	M	153/7619	2.0%	-14.8	Low
	F	284/7525	3.8%	-8.7	Low
Engineering/ science technicians	M	1356/13126	10.3%	+41.2	High
	F	179/2147	8.3%	-13.7	Low
Writers, artists, and entertainers	M	635/13224	4.8%	+1.7	-
	F	245/5947	4.1%	-14.6	Low
Sales workers					
Insurance, real estate agents, and brokers	M	416/13692	3.0%	-5.5	Low
	F	120/3775	3.2%	-18.4	Low

TABLE 13 (cont.)

	Sex	No. of Asians/ no. of all races	% Asian by sex	z-value*	Assessed level of employment
Sales workers					
Sales reps., manufacturing	M	55/6806	0.8%	-10.9	Low
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
Sales reps., wholesale trade	M	348/12368	2.8%	-1.8	Low
	F	NA		-19.9	Low
Salesclerks, retail	M	1000/14786	6.8%	-7.9	Low
	F	1305/26443	4.9%	-0.8	-
Salespersons, retail	M	139/6545	2.1%	-6.6	Low
	F	22/1180	1.9%	-14.3	Low
Clerical and kindred workers					
Bank tellers/ cashiers	M	591/4562	13.0%	-1.3	-
	F	1193/15551	7.7%	+23.2	High
Bookkeepers	M	719/5867	12.3%	-8.7	Low
	F	1753/26015	6.7%	+24.7	Fair
File clerks	M	NA		-15.5	Low
	F	827/7478	11.0%	+39.7	High
Office machine operators	M	NA		-18.5	Low
	F	1556/10710	14.5%	+68.2	High
Receptionists	M	NA		-14.5	Low
	F	292/6552	4.5%	+6.3	Low
Secretaries	M	NA		-42.3	Low
	F	2499/55800	4.5%	+18.8	Low
Telephone operators	M	NA		-17.5	Low
	F	334/9539	3.5%	+2.3	Low
Typists	M	NA		-27.4	Low
	F	2261/23497	9.6%	+57.7	High
Postal clerks	M	1487/11587	12.8%	+60.5	High
	F	NA		-19.3	Low

TABLE 13 (cont.)

	Sex	No. of Asians/ no. of all races	% Asian by sex	z-value*	Assessed level of employment
Craftsmen					
Carpenters	M	255/13523	1.9%	-8.1	Low
	F	NA		-20.8	Low
Electricians	M	288/6860	4.2%	+5.2	Low
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
Painters	M	194/6640	2.9%	-0.8	Low
	F	NA		-14.6	Low
Plumbers	M	143/5490	2.6%	-2.1	Low
	F	NA		-13.3	Low
Linemen, telephone and power	M	190/6834	2.8%	-1.5	-
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
Mechanics					
Aircraft	M	452/6804	6.6%	+16.9	Fair
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
Automobile	M	598/12996	4.6%	+9.9	Low
	F	NA		-20.4	Low
Radio/TV	M	339/2647	12.8%	+28.8	High
	F	NA		-9.2	Low
Machinists	M	269/7337	3.7%	+2.8	Low
	F	NA		+15.3	Low
Sheet metal workers	M	156/3578	4.4%	+4.3	Low
	F	NA		-10.7	Low
Printing craftspersons	M	312/6502	4.8%	+7.9	Low
	F	NA		-14.4	Low
Power station operators	M	105/2918	3.6%	+1.6	-
	F	NA		-9.7	Low

TABLE 13 (cont.)

	Sex	No. of Asians/ no. of all races	% Asian by sex	z-value*	Assessed level of employment
Operatives, except transport					
Assemblers	M	296/5212	5.7%	-1.1	Fair
	F	301/4965	6.1%	-0.8	Fair
Checkers, examiners, and inspectors, manufacturing	M	131/2952	4.4%	-3.6	Low
	F	107/2789	3.8%	-5.4	Low
Garage workers and gas station attendants	M	451/7584	5.9%	+14.3	Fair
	F	NA		-15.6	Low
Laundry operators	M	429/1334	32.2%	+22.0	High
	F	521/3734	14.0%	+29.5	High
Butchers	M	621/4060	15.3%	+44.8	Very High
	F	NA		-11.4	Low
Packers and wrappers, except produce	M	204/2889	7.1%	-3.6	Low
	F	399/5530	7.2%	+8.7	Fair
Sewers and stitchers	M	NA		-13.8	Low
	F	3437/5914	58.1%	+244.1	High
Welders	M	383/5914	6.5%	+15.0	Fair
	F	NA		-13.8	Low
Oper., fab. metal products	M	76/2053	3.7%	+1.6	-
	F	NA		-8.1	Low
Oper., electrical machinery	M	70/1563	4.5%	-0.4	-
	F	14/ 811	1.7%	-7.1	Low
Oper., food and kindred products	M	136/2344	5.8%	+3.3	Fair
	F	50/ 975	5.1%	-5.3	Low
Oper., paper products	M	16/1562	1.0%	-4.7	Low
	F	NA		-7.1	-
Oper., chemical products	M	42/1434	2.9%	-0.4	-
	F	NA		-6.8	-

TABLE 13 (cont.)

	Sex	No. of Asians/ no. of all races	% Asian by sex	z-value*	Assessed level of employment
Transport equipment operatives					
Bus drivers	M	90/3402	2.6%	-1.5	Low
	F	NA		-10.4	Low
Taxicab drivers	M	111/2922	3.8%	+2.2	Low
	F	NA		-9.7	Low
Truck drivers and deliverymen	M	628/27369	2.3%	-7.7	Low
	F	NA		-29.6	Low
Laborers					
Construction	M	155/7896	2.0%	-5.8	Low
	F	NA		-15.9	Low
Freight, stock and material handlers	M	1263/23049	5.5%	+20.8	Fair
	F	NA		-27.2	Low
Farmers and farm managers	M	276/1743	15.8%	+27.8	High
	F	36/239	15.1%	-3.3	Low
Farm laborers	M	387/3536	10.9%	+20.4	High
	F	216/1146	18.8%	+6.0	High
Service workers					
Cleaning service	M	2459/23397	10.5%	+49.9	High
	F	612/7142	8.6%	-11.0	Low
Food service					
Cooks	M	2754/8949	30.8%	+114.2	High
	F	355/4852	7.3%	-3.6	Low
Waitresses and food counter workers	M	NA			
	F	1053/1480	7.1%	+28.2	Fair

TABLE 13 (cont.)

	Sex	No. of Asians/ no. of all races	% Asian by sex	z-value*	Assessed level of employment
Food service					
Busboys and dishwashers	M	1564/5790	27.0%	+105.0	High
	F	NA			—
Health service	M	157/2297	6.8%	-18.1	Low
	F	1063/16695	6.4%	+19.9	Fair
Personal service	M	828/7788	10.6%	+3.4	High
	F	1090/16024	6.8%	+13.2	Fair
Protective service workers					
Firemen	M	11/4843	0.2%	-11.5	Low
	F	NA		-12.4	Low
Guards and watchmen	M	176/4537	3.9%	+3.0	Low
	F	NA		-12.0	Low
Policemen and detectives	M	117/6880	1.7%	-6.7	Low
	F	NA		-14.8	Low
Private household workers	M	374/1075	34.8%	-7.7	High
	F	1689/16696	10.1%	+49.3	High

NA denotes no data available; (Low)--assumed from paucity of data

*The z-value is a measurement of the statistical significance of the indicated disparity in employment level. When the absolute value of z is greater than 1.64, the level of significance of the disparity is higher than 0.05 (using a "one tailed test"); in other words, there is less than 1 chance in 20 that the disparity is due to random chance. From standard statistical theory, the z-value is the standardized variable of the normal approximation to the binomial distribution. The z-value is given by

$$z = \frac{P_o - P_e}{\sqrt{P(1-P)/N}}$$

where p = the proportion of Asian females (or Asian males) in the total workforce composed of all races and both sexes.

P = the ideal proportion of Asian females (or Asian males) in a discrimination-free labor market with all barriers removed; this assumes that parity is given by participation at racial population proportion levels and equal participation by the sexes. For Asian-American females (or males) in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA in 1970, $P = 0.062 \div 2$.

N = the total workforce composed of all races and both sexes.

It is important to point out that the standard deviation for the proportion of Asians employed (p) is $\sqrt{P(1-P)/N}$ and is thus determined by parity P and not p (as a sample proportion). The fundamental assumption is that Asians would tend to participate at population parity levels in a true discrimination-free labor market.

Source: Bureau of Census, Census of Population: 1970, Detailed Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-D6, California Section 1, pp. 6-1597 to 6-1599. Asians assumed from total less whites, blacks, and Spanish.

Another important factor is the underrepresentation of both Asian men and women in occupations that require substantial public contact work or high language facility. Thus Asians tend to be found in jobs such as accounting, science, and engineering, but not in teaching, law, or sales. For the Asian female, this characteristic is shown most interestingly in the clerical categories. Asian women show up as bank tellers, bookkeepers, file clerks, and machine operators, but not as receptionists, secretaries, or telephone operators. Those who show up in sales work may well be dominated in this geographic region by people who work in the ghetto stores, especially in Chinatown.

We believe this underemployment in jobs that require public contact or English language skills is a direct result of the Asian people's experience with racial discrimination in this country. We Asians learned to survive in this country by becoming self-effacing, quiet, and passive. By not calling attention to ourselves, we hoped to be able to avoid the consequences of racial oppression. By working in jobs that enabled us to avoid interaction with other people, we would be less likely to encounter unpleasant episodes. Even in 1970, the effects of historical laws that excluded us from certain occupations and relegated us to others continue to be reflected in the proportions of Asians found in the low-level food service and cleaning occupations.

The last column in table 13, labeled "Assessed level of employment," reflects the results of statistical tests measuring the difference between the proportions of Asian women in each job category and their parity level. Parity level was defined as the proportion of Asian women in the overall population, and the assumption is that in the absence of both race and sex discrimination Asian women would tend to occupy the various job categories in proportion to their overall population representation. It should be noted from this table that Asian women are underrepresented in virtually every occupational category--except those which have been traditionally reserved for us.

The stereotype of the passive, quiet Asian, coupled with stereotypes about proper behavior for women, have undoubtedly contributed to this particular occupational pattern for Asian women. Unfortunately, stereotypes are chains that bind both the employer and the jobseeker. On the one hand, employers have difficulty in overcoming their practices of relegating Asian women to certain traditional jobs, regardless of their qualifications. And on the other hand, we Asian women hold ourselves back by accepting others' views of our aspirations and behavior. Asian women especially should learn to raise their expectations and to assert themselves to gain what is justly due them.

These data suggest that an important component may be missing from the education of Asian women that would help prepare them to compete in the job market. Aside from counseling on their employment prospects and their work life expectancy, Asian women need to be prepared for public contact, to improve their verbal skills, and to learn how to be assertive.

Another hypothesis which has been suggested to explain why women's earnings are lower than men's is the "crowding hypothesis." This theory proposes that women compete with other women for jobs within a very small range of occupations open to them. The effect of this oversupply of labor is to depress the average wage level in these jobs. Such a theory is certainly consistent with traditional economic wage theory and with discriminatory practices that effectively keep women within a limited segment of the labor market.

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND AGE COHORTS

Tables 14A, 14B, and 14C show occupational distributions for broad job categories for Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women in California in 1970. One of the most interesting features of all three tables is that the proportion of professional women peaks in the 25 to 34 age cohort. Again, it should be remembered that these are cross-sectional and not longitudinal data. It would be most helpful here, also, to have time series data that would show what happens to Asian professional women as they grow older.

One of the factors that may explain why the 25 to 34 cohort shows the highest proportion of professional women is the labor force participation rate by age group discussed earlier. As we saw before, in each of the ethnic groups, it is at this age that women drop out from the work force most significantly. What may occur is that the women most likely to drop out are those in the lower occupational classifications because they have no career at stake. This would result in the professional women having a

TABLE 14A

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY AGE COHORT OF CHINESE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA: 1970

	Occupational distribution by age cohort					
	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
No. employed	2,600	5,202	6,062	6,990	7,169	552
Occupation						
Professionals	4%	14%	31%	15%	7%	8%
Managers	-	2	3	4	6	3
Sales workers	16	5	3	4	5	7
Clerks	58	57	37	31	22	11
Crafts	-	1	1	2	2	3
Operatives	3	6	16	31	39	46
Laborers	1	1	-	-	1	2
Farmers	-	-	-	-	1	1
Farm laborers	1	-	-	-	1	1
Service workers	13	12	7	12	14	12
Private household workers	2	1	2	2	3	7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

larger percentage in the distribution simply for mathematical reasons. As the clerical, operative, and service workers come back into the labor force in the older age groups, the proportion of professional women would decline again for the same reasons. To validate this hypothesis, it would be necessary to have labor force participation data by age and occupation.

Another interesting pattern shown in tables 14A, 14B, and 14C is that clerical work among older Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women is less prevalent than among younger women. The older women, who tend to have less education, are more concentrated among the operative and service occupations. This may also be a result of a lower command of the English language among older women, especially if they are immigrants, who would thereby be excluded from most clerical jobs.

So few women are in managerial positions that it is difficult to comment on the age patterns shown in the table. The data, however, are consistent with the expectation that some mobility into managerial ranks

TABLE 14B

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY AGE COHORT OF FILIPINO WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA: 1970

	Occupational distribution by age cohort					
	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
No. employed	1,064	3,398	7,178	5,263	3,550	164
Occupation						
Professionals	3%	13%	30%	22%	16%	9%
Managers	1	-	2	2	3	12
Sales workers	11	2	2	3	4	5
Clerks	57	59	41	31	22	22
Crafts	-	1	1	2	1	-
Operatives	4	7	9	18	20	10
Laborers	-	1	-	1	1	-
Farmers	-	-	-	-	1	-
Farm laborers	3	1	-	1	3	-
Service workers	19	14	13	19	25	14
Private household workers	1	2	1	2	3	27

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

would come with age (as a proxy for labor market experience). The very slightly higher levels for Japanese and Chinese women might reflect the higher proportions of self-employed persons in these two ethnic groups.

Sales work also tends to be an occupation more readily entered into by younger Asian women. Again, this may well be the result of better English language skills among younger women.

The age cohort data are also interesting in light of Blau and Duncan's theory on the significance of the first job. Blau and Dunca also found that first job status was important to ultimate occupationa status if the first job did not interrupt the educational process. Tha is, those whose schooling is delayed by the first job also tend to come from a socioeconomic background that is unfavorable to high economic status.

TABLE 14C

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY AGE COHORT OF JAPANESE WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA: 1970

	Occupational distribution by age cohort					
	16-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	65+
No. employed	2,154	5,363	8,242	11,625	12,743	1,274
Occupation						
Professionals	5%	21%	31%	12%	9%	4%
Managers	1	1	3	3	5	3
Sales workers	22	5	2	4	6	3
Clerks	49	53	41	37	33	7
Crafts	-	1	1	2	2	1
Operatives	3	3	7	19	20	18
Laborers	2	-	-	1	1	5
Farmers	-	-	-	-	2	3
Farm laborers	2	-	1	2	3	13
Service workers	14	13	12	15	10	6
Private household workers	3	2	2	4	9	37

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G.

These tables show that the youngest Asian women are heavily concentrated in the low status, low mobility jobs: clerical, sales, and service. Even if the low job status of the Asian-American female teenager is part-time work while going to school (although this is not clearly the case since data on part-time work show that teenagers represent the smallest proportion of part-time workers), the Blau and Duncan study implies that this low status tends to continue after the teenager leaves school.

However, the first job status may be better characterized by the job distribution of the 20 to 24 age cohort, especially since this is the group at which educational attainment peaks for all but Filipino women. Looking at tables 14A, 14B, and 14C, we see that substantially more women in this age group are in professional occupations. However, between 50 and 60 percent are still in the clerical occupations. The service work, sales, and operatives categories account for most of the other women in these age groups, again depressingly low-level jobs.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Table 15 provides some data on occupational distributions in 1960 and 1970 for Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women. This table compares the occupational distributions of the 25 to 34 age cohort of 1960 with the 35 to 44 age cohort of 1970, on the assumption that the 1970 group approximates a longitudinal reflection of the 1960 group. This may very well not be true, however, since we know that the late 1960's was a period of high immigration, especially for Chinese and Filipinos. The comparison, nevertheless, shows that the 1960 cohort had fewer professionals, about the same proportion of clerical workers, significantly more operatives, and about the same proportion of service workers.

Among the Chinese women, the educational status was about the same, but the proportion of clerks decreased and the proportions of operative and service workers rose. The large increase in the size of the cohort most likely reflects that the women sampled in 1970 were not the same ones sampled in 1960.

Among the Filipino women, there was a sizable increase in the proportion of professionals, a small decrease in the proportion of clerks, but an increase in the proportions of operative and service workers. There was also some gain in the proportion of Filipino women in the crafts. It should also be noted that the 1960 distributions had a large category of occupation not reported. The Filipino women, like the Chinese women, had a large increase in cohort size, again indicating strongly that the two groups do not overlap.

The proportion of Filipino women who were college graduates was substantially larger in 1970 than in 1960, suggesting strongly that many of the immigrants were well educated.

Among the Japanese women, the educational status in 1970 remained about the same as in 1960, but the proportion of professionals and clerks decreased while the proportion of operatives and service workers increased. We do not know what would account for this change in the occupational picture of Japanese women in these 10 years. It should be pointed out that the size of the cohort also increased quite substantially, although proportionately less than for Chinese and Filipino women.

Another possible method to evaluate occupational mobility for Asian women over the 10 years between 1960 and 1970 might be to directly compare tables 14A, 14B, and 14C with table 15 for the same respective age cohorts; i.e., the 15 to 34 cohort in both years. This would tell us what the occupational prospects were for Asian women at two different points in time.

For Chinese women, it appears that in 1970 the probabilities of being a professional woman were substantially greater: 17 percent compared to 31 percent 10 years later. There were small decreases in sales and clerical workers, and operatives decreased considerably; but there was a

TABLE 15

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF ASIAN WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA: THE 25-34 COHORTS IN 1960 AND THE 35-44 COHORTS IN 1970

	Chinese females		Filipino females		Japanese females	
	25-34 cohort in 1960	35-44 cohort in 1970	25-34 cohort in 1960	35-44 cohort in 1970	25-34 cohort in 1960	35-44 cohort in 1970
No. employed	3,655	6,990	1,259	5,263	7,185	11,625
Occupation						
Professionals	17.4%	15.0%	15.2%	21.7%	16.8%	12.3%
Managers	2.7	3.6	1.7	1.5	1.2	3.3
Sales workers	4.5	3.8	3.5	3.2	2.8	4.0
Clerks	39.9	30.5	34.9	31.2	44.5	36.7
Crafts	0.3	1.6	0.3	1.8	0.8	2.1
Operatives	22.0	31.0	15.2	17.9	10.4	19.0
Laborers	0.3	0.4	-	0.6	0.4	1.1
Farmers	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.1	1.2	0.4
Farm laborers	0.5	0.4	2.0	1.1	3.5	1.6
Service workers	5.0	11.7	15.4	18.8	9.5	15.4
Private household workers	1.0	1.5	1.7	2.1	4.4	4.2
Occupations not reported	5.6	-	9.5	-	4.5	-

TABLE 15 (cont.)

	Chinese females		Filipino females		Japanese females	
	25-34 cohort in 1960	35-44 cohort in 1970	25-34 cohort in 1960	35-44 cohort in 1970	25-34 cohort in 1960	35-44 cohort in 1970
Number	8,250	12,115	4,068	8,823	18,275	24,044
Educational status						
College, 4 yrs. +	14%	15%	14%	30%	8%	10%
High school, 4 yrs.	31	31	27	23	53	54
Grade school, 8 yrs.	5	4	7	5	4	5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Subject Report PC(2)-1G, 1973; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Final Report PC(2)-1C, 1963.

slight increase in service and private household work. There was a very small and probably insignificant increase in managers. However, it appears that the very large gain in professionals outweighed the changes in the several other occupations, and this would appear to be strong evidence of mobility.

Filipino women aged 25 to 34 in 1970 showed double the proportion of professionals compared to 1960: from 15 percent to 30 percent. Clerical workers increased somewhat, operatives declined considerably, and service workers declined a little. Like the Chinese women, there was a very small gain in the managerial class and among the crafts. Sales work declined to some extent. On balance, it would appear that the very marked increase in professional ranks is important evidence of upward mobility.

Coming to the Japanese women, we again see a very strong increase in the proportion of professional women between 1960 and 1970, suggesting a contradiction to 25 to 34/35 to 44 age comparison. A larger increase in the management class is shown for Japanese women than for Chinese and Filipino women, and it could be important. Sales and clerical work declined moderately, as did operatives and farm labor. There was some increase in service work and some decline in private household work among Japanese women.

The comparison of the same age cohorts in 1960 and 1970 strongly suggests that upward mobility is possible, especially through the professional occupations, and that real progress can be made. Many problems remain, however, as we know that women still occupied the lower level professional jobs in 1970. It is hoped that the 1980 census will reflect still more progress for Asian-American women, after a decade of affirmative action efforts and programs. With consolidation of efforts by the women's movement and minority groups and with establishment of programs addressing the needs of Asian women, it should be possible for Asian women to move closer toward economic equality.

EMPLOYMENT DISTRIBUTION BY INDUSTRY

As has been demonstrated, Asian women are clustered in the clerical, operative, and service worker occupations. The extent of labor market segmentation can be explored in more detail by analyzing Asian employment by industry and occupational distributions within industries. Unfortunately, census data are not currently available for such an analysis; moreover, the census data that are available are tabulated only by broad industrial groupings such as "wholesale and retail trade," "manufacturing--durable goods," and "finance, insurance, and real estate." However, occupational distributions by two-digit Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) code industries in States and selected SMSA's are published by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.[2] The SIC code uniquely describes the types of firms that comprise each industry. The occupational distribution data are based on EEO-1 reports required of employers with 100 or more employees (or consolidations of 100 or more employees from different locations of the same establishment). Thus, the data are biased toward the large mainstream-type private employers, a bias that is not at all unacceptable for this analysis since labor market segmentation can well be more prevalent in large employers.

Again, we pursue the analysis at the proper level of disaggregation by area: the SMSA. Moreover, we again choose the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA in order to look for consistency with the analysis of the broad and detailed occupational distributions previously presented. First, however, we estimate the "coverage" of EEO-1 data for the SMSA: the proportion of employees in the private sector who are accounted for by EEO-1 data. Total private sector employment (total civilian employment less Government employment) in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA in 1973 was about 1,025,600;[3] total employment in the SMSA reported in 1973 EEO-1 data (from 2,728 firms) amounted to 536,600.[4] The two figures show that the EEO-1 data cover 52 percent of the total employment in the private sector in 1973. There were 15,800 Asian women reported in the 1973 EEO-1 data for the SMSA, amounting to a coverage of about 50 percent. Thus, on the basis of this respectable one-in-two coverage, we proceed with the analysis of the industrial distribution of Asian women based on EEO-1 data.

First we analyze the employment level of Asian women by two-digit SIC code industry in 1969 and then again in 1973, 5 years later to detect time trends. (The 1973 data are the latest data published by EEOC.) Then we analyze the occupational distribution of Asian women in those industries where their employment level is high. Figure 9 is a bar chart presentation of the employment level of Asian women in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA, by specific industries, in 1973 and in 1969. Also shown for comparison is the percentage of Asian women in the labor force in 1969 (2.7 percent) and in 1973 (3.0 percent). A more ideal comparison, based on a completely discrimination-free and egalitarian scenario, would be a comparison with the percentage of Asian women in the population (3.5 percent in 1973). However, for the purposes of this preliminary analysis, the choice of labor force versus population parity is not important. Also, the disparities far overshadow these differences in parity level. The EEO-1 data shown in figure 9 reveal that:

- From 1969 to 1973, in most of the industries, there was little progress toward labor force parity. Depending on the industry, it would take from 5 to 25 years to reach parity. Asian-American women are employed at less than one-third of labor force parity in all manufacturing industries, except for apparel and other textile products (SIC 23), where the employment level of Asian women was about four times parity. This is consistent with the high concentration of garment workers (operatives) among Asian-American women, particularly Chinese women, previously pointed out in the occupational distributions. There are few Asian-American women in manufacturing industries, such as paper and allied products, printing and publishing, chemicals and allied products, petroleum products, primary metal products, fabricated metal products, and non-electrical machinery and transportation equipment.[5]

- There continue to be few Asian-American women in the construction industry. There were only about 60 women construction apprentices of all races in the State of California in April 1976, comprising much less than 1 percent of all such apprentices.[6]

- In the transportation and communications industries, Asian-American women were at less than one-third of parity in air, water, and land (trucking and railroads) transportation industries. Asian-American women were over parity in the communications industry, in which employment is predominantly in the telephone industry. However, their poor occupational distribution in this industry is shown later.

- In the wholesale trade, there are only about one-half as many Asian-American women as would be expected from their proportion in the labor force. In retail trade, they are employed in general retail merchandising (department stores) and eating and drinking places (restaurants) much more so than in food stores (from EEO-1 data, mostly the chain supermarket stores).

FIGURE 9

EMPLOYMENT OF ASIAN WOMEN IN INDUSTRIES BY 2-DIGIT SIC CODE IN THE SAN FRANCISCO-OAKLAND SMSA, BASED ON 1973 EEO-1 DATA

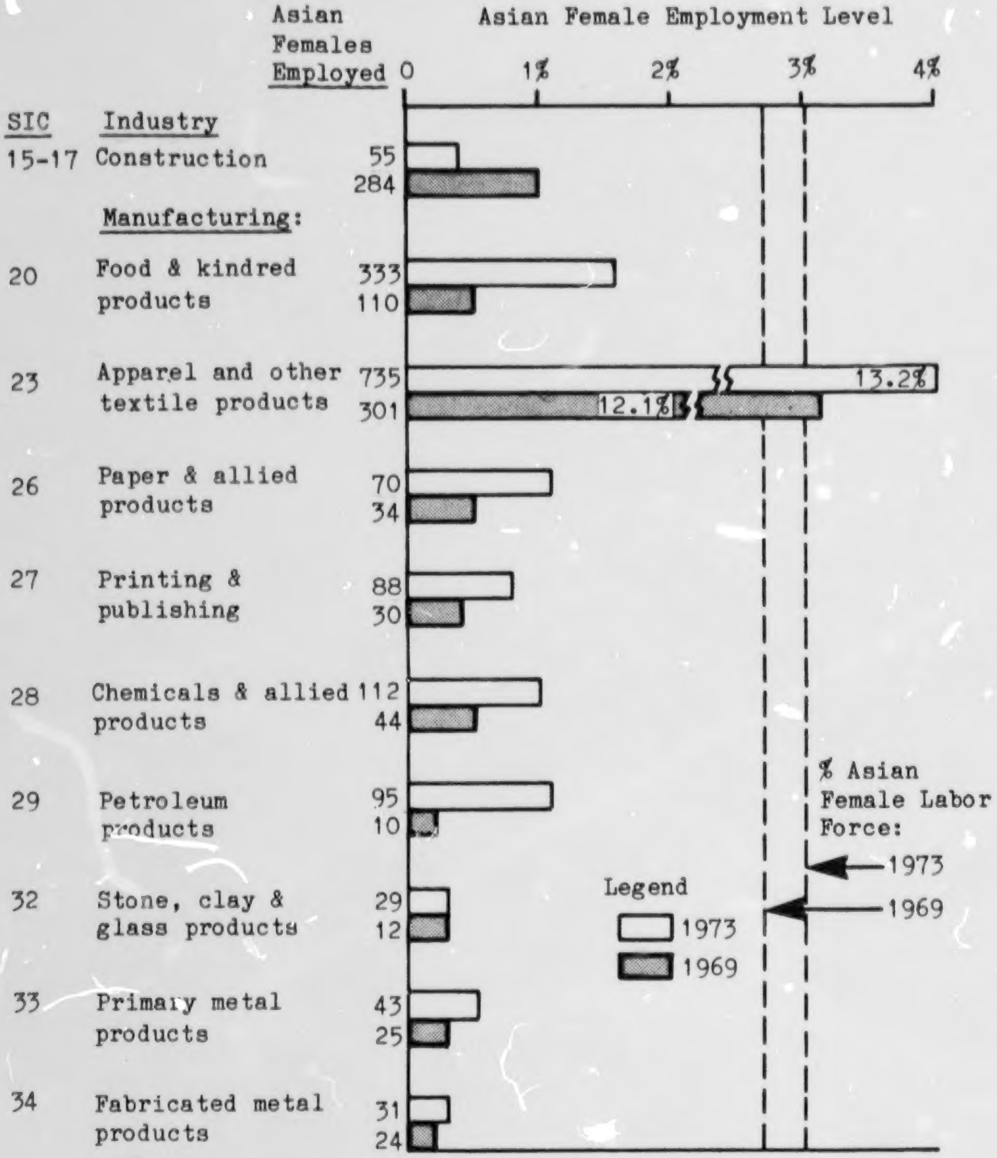


FIGURE 9
(cont'd.)

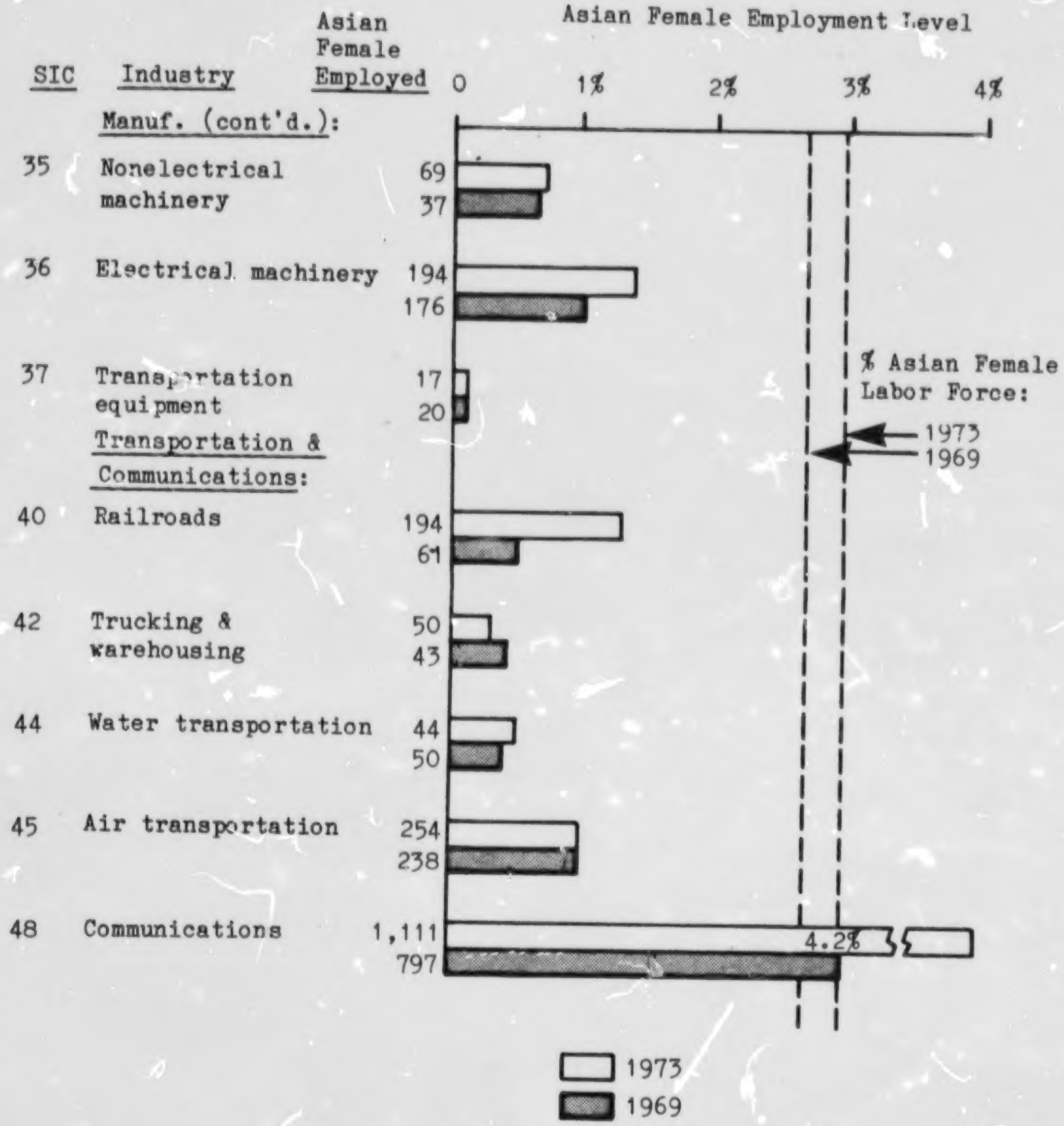


FIGURE 9
(cont'd.)

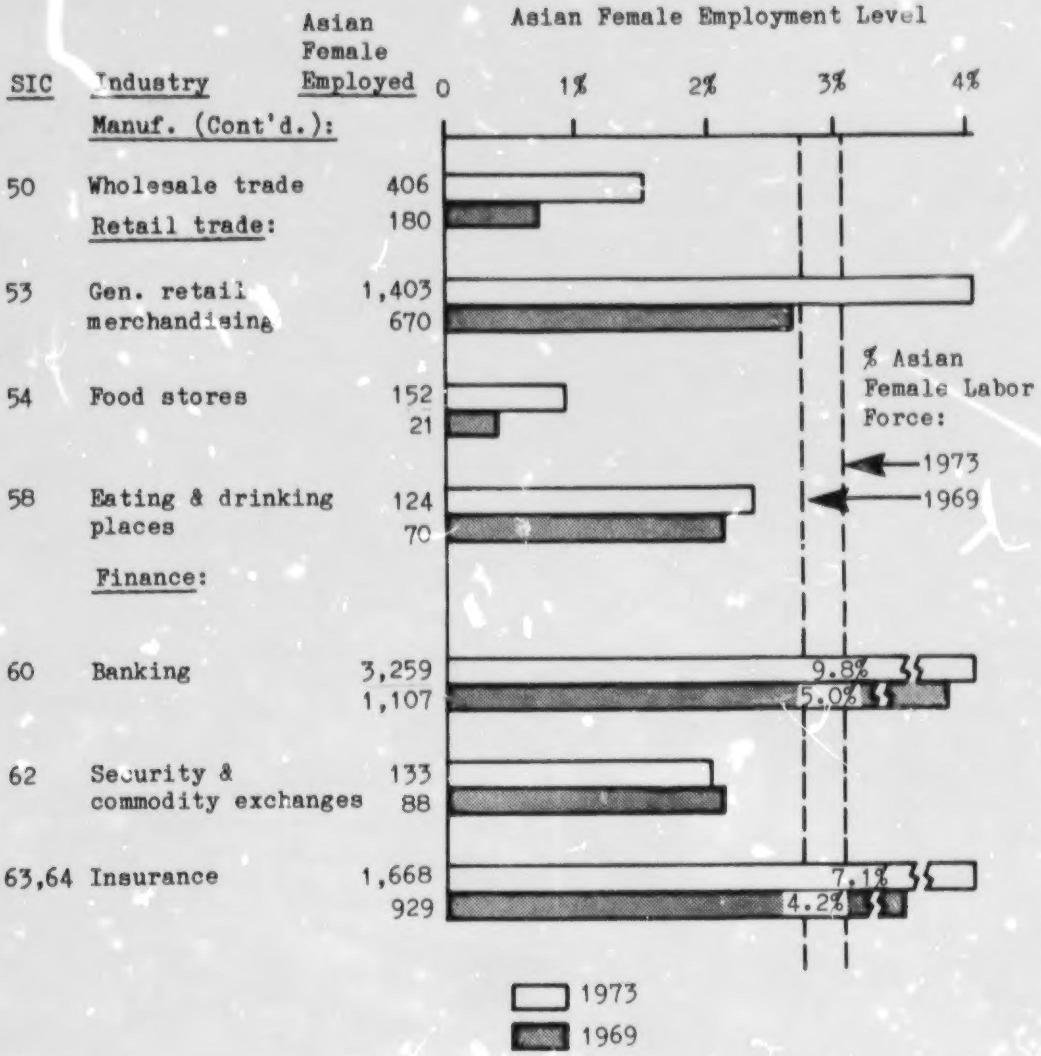
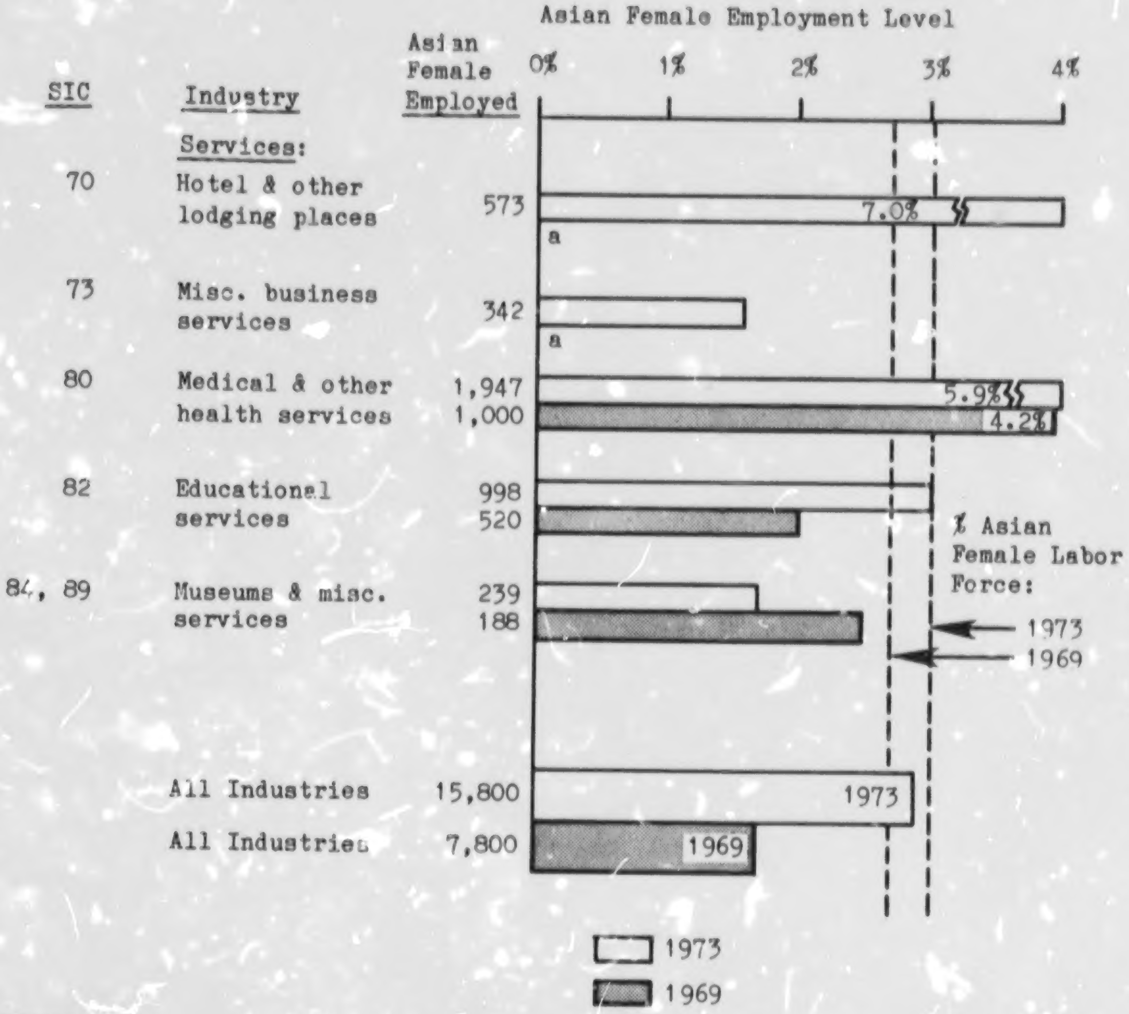


FIGURE 9

(cont'd.)



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[a] No data in 1969.

Source: EEOC, Equal Employment Opportunity Report--1973, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1975; see also 1969 report.

- In the finance industries, Asian-American women are below parity in security and commodity exchanges but are heavily employed in banking and insurance, where their employment levels nearly doubled from 196[illegible] to 1973. However, we show later the low occupational status of Asian-American women in these two industries.

- Finally, we see a high employment level for Asian women in the hotel industry, where they are predominantly service workers (waitresses, cleaning maids, and other food and cleaning workers). They are also heavily employed in the medical and services industry, which is dominated by the hospital industry, where Asian-American women are mostly nurses and food/cleaning service workers.

The above analysis shows that Asian women are clustered in only 7 out of 30 major industries in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA. The EEO-1 data released are for industry aggregates of at least five establishments and 5,000 employees in the SMSA. The seven industries are:

- Apparel and other textile products
- Communications
- General retail merchandising
- Banking
- Insurance
- Hotels and other lodging places
- Medical and other health services.

Of the 15,800 Asian-American women employed in the 30 industries, 68 percent were clustered in the above 7 industries, as compared with 50 percent of 146,100 white women and 28 percent of 260,500 white men. Also, Asian-American women in these industries have an occupational distribution that differs greatly from that of white men and women.

The analysis of the occupational distribution of Asian-American women in these industries now follows, based on 1973 EEO-1 data. Figures 10 through 16 show the occupational distribution of Asian women and men as well as white women and men in each of the seven industries. Note from the figures that the occupational distribution of each of the four groups--white women and Asian women on the right, white men and Asian men on the left--can clearly be seen and compared with each other. Each distribution adds up to 100 percent.

1. Apparel and Other Textile Products (SIC 23): Figure 10 shows that 70 percent of Asian-American women are in only

one occupation--operatives (garment workers); the remainder are craftspersons and clerks. By comparison, white men are mostly managers and salespersons, while white women are mostly clerks and operatives.

2. Communications (SIC 48): Figure 11 shows that 90 percent of Asian-American women are in only one occupation--clerical. Some white women are managers and professionals; white men are mostly crafts workers, professionals, and managers--the high status jobs in the telephone communications industry.

3. General Retail Merchandising (SIC 53): The work force as analyzed through EEO-1 data is mostly in department stores. Figure 12 shows that the white men are mostly managers and salesworkers, while the white women are mostly salesworkers and clerks. Note that proportionately more white women than Asian-American women are salesworkers, whereas the reverse is true for the clerical workers. Again, the pattern of fewer Asians in public contact jobs emerges.

4. Banking (SIC 60): Figure 13 shows that the industry has only two types of occupations--managers and clerks. Ninety percent of the Asian-American women are clerks, as are 85 percent of the white women. By contrast, 55 percent of white males are managers as compared with about 3 percent of Asian-American women and about 11 percent of white women.

5. Insurance (SIC 63, 64): Figure 14 shows that Asian-American women in the insurance industry are predominantly (85 percent) in one occupation--clerical. White men and women, on the other hand, are managers, professionals, technicians, and salespersons.

6. Hotels and Other Lodging Places (SIC 70): Figure 15 shows that 85 percent of Asian-American females in the hotel industry, compared with 60 percent of white men and women, are service workers (waitresses, cleaning workers, etc.). The managers are mostly white men, while the clerks are mostly white women.

7. Medical and Other Health Services (SIC 80): EEO-1 data show that hospitals account for most of the employment in the industry. Figure 16 shows that Asian-American women are professionals (mostly nurses rather than physicians) and service workers (food and cleaning service workers) in the medical service industry.

The disparities pointed out are supported by Chi-square tests[7] comparing the occupational distributions of Asian-American women with those of white men and women in each of the seven industries.

FIGURE 10

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIANS AND WHITES BY SEX. IN APPAREL AND OTHER TEXTILE PRODUCTS (SIC 23) IN THE SF-O SMSA. BASED ON 1973 EEO-1 DATA

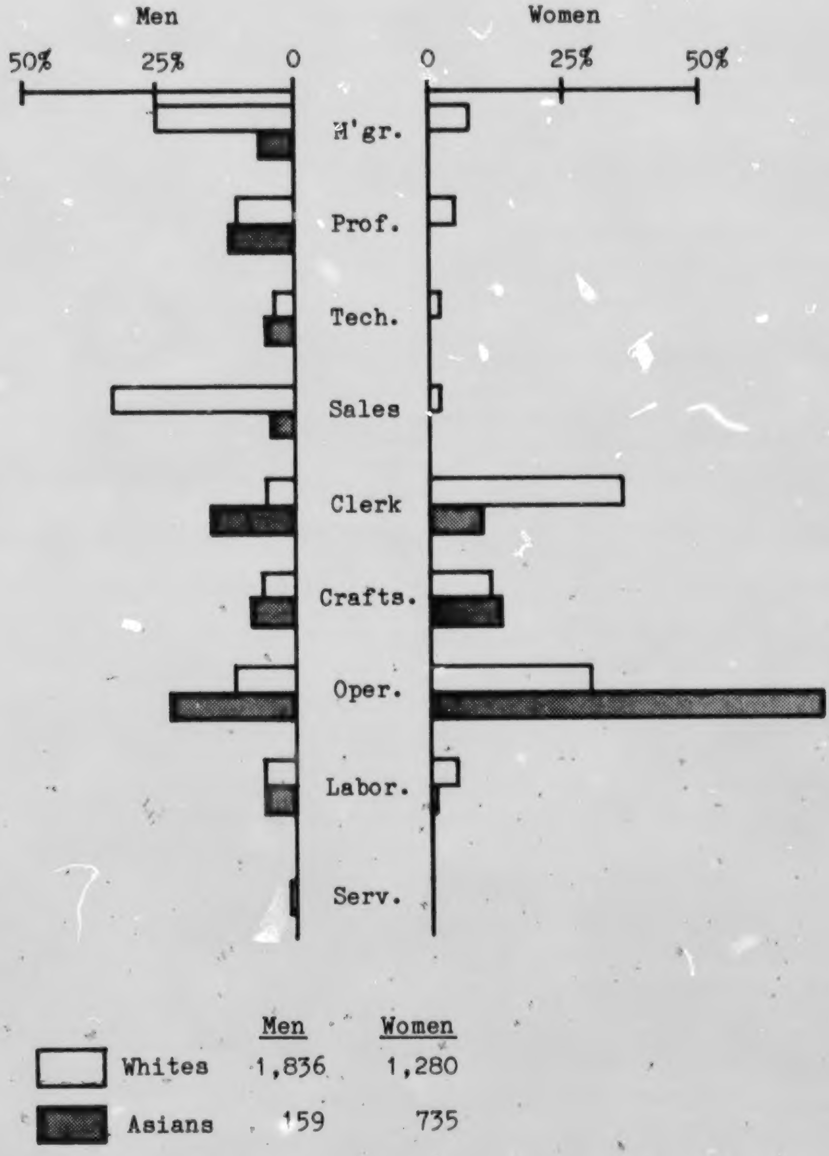


FIGURE 11

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIANS AND WHITES, BY SEX, IN COMMUNICATIONS (SIC 48) IN THE SF-O SMSA, BASED ON 1973 EEO-1 DATA

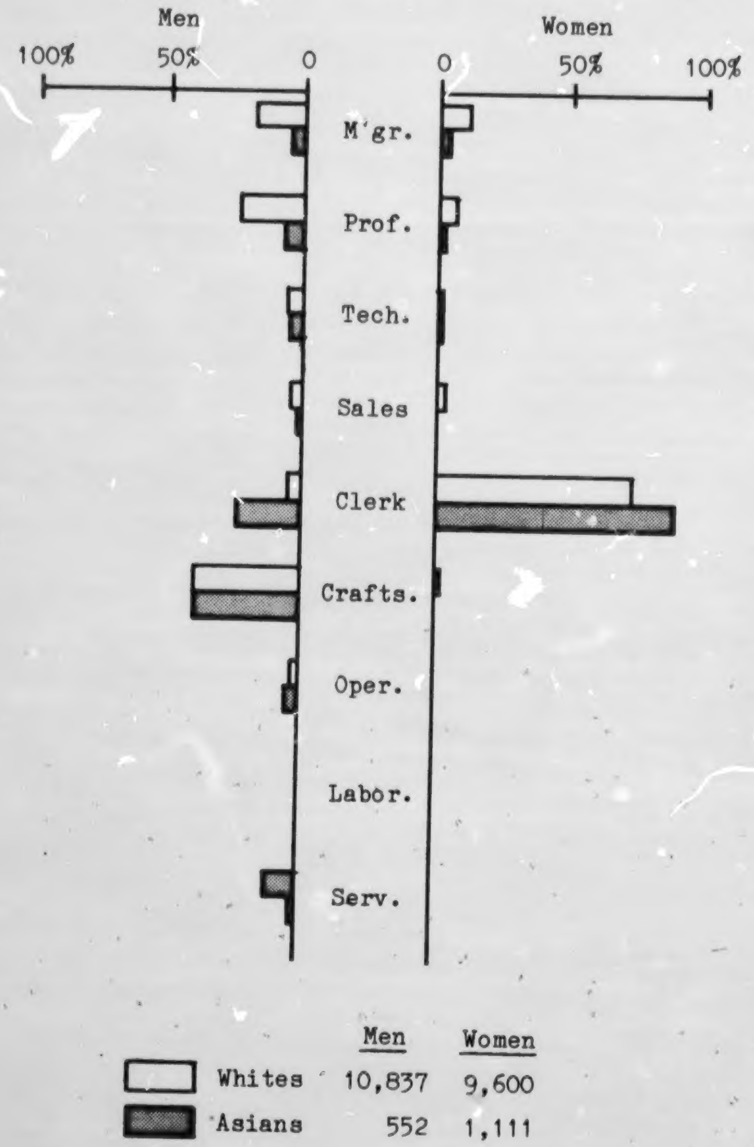
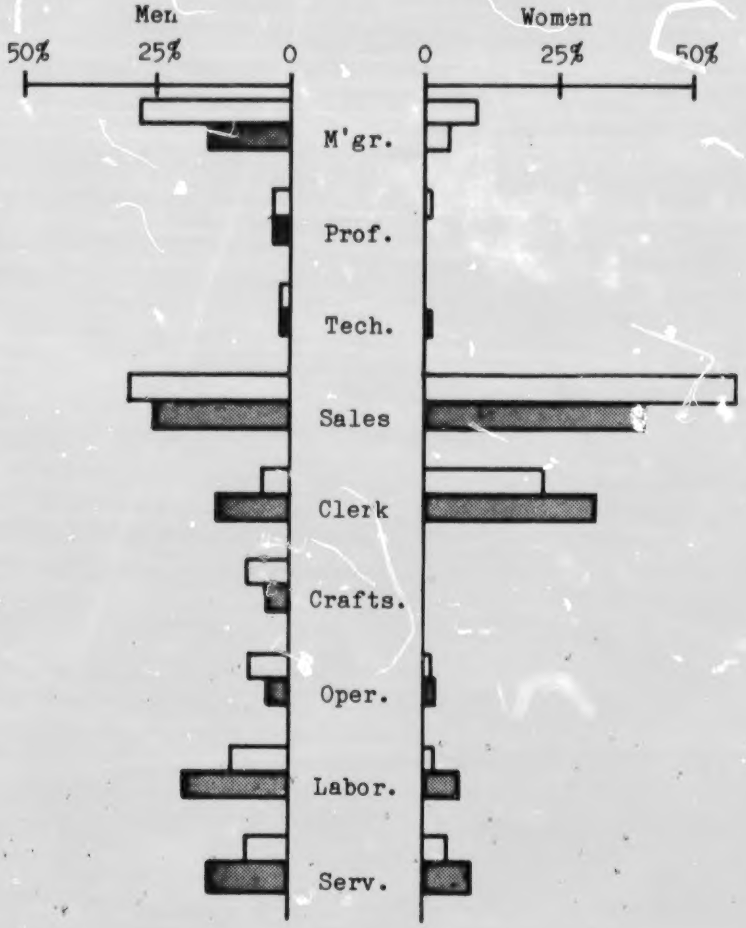


FIGURE 12

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIANS AND WHITES, BY SEX, IN GENERAL RETAIL MERCHANDISING (SIC 53) IN THE SF-O SMSA, BASED ON 1973 EEO-1 DATA



		Men	Women
☐	Whites	8,308	20,011
▨	Asians	568	1,403

FIGURE 13

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIANS AND WHITES, BY SEX, IN BANKING (SIC 60) IN THE SF-O SMSA, BASED ON 1973 EEO-1 DATA

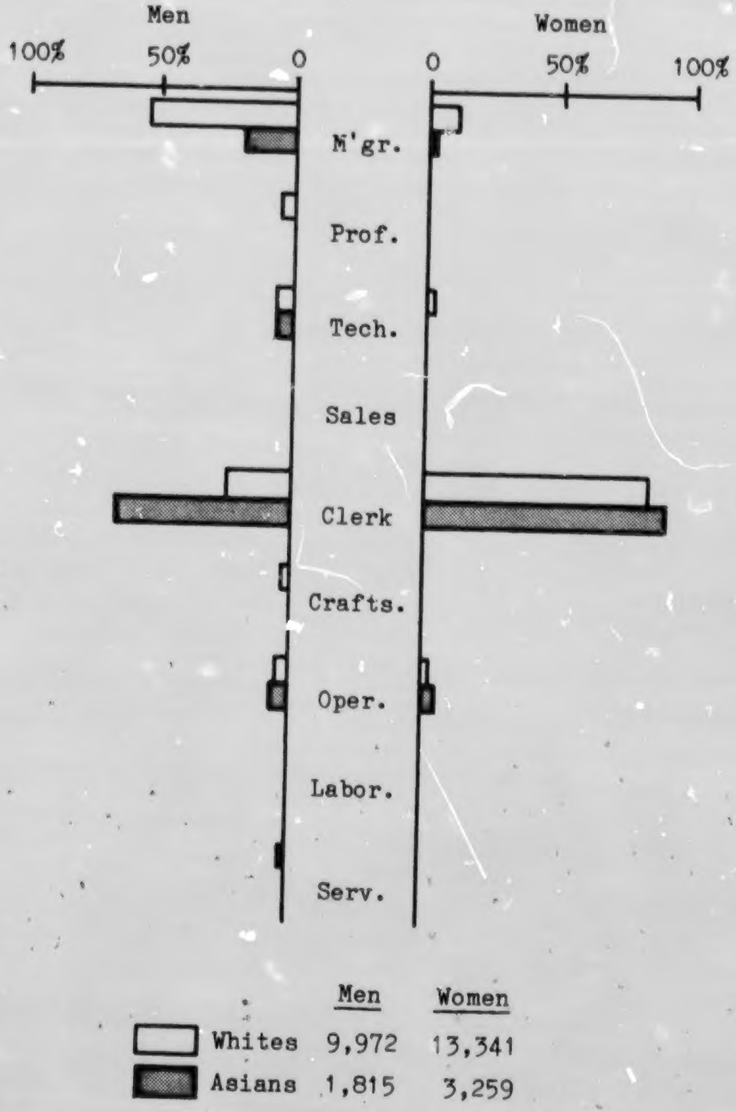


FIGURE 14

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIANS AND WHITES, BY SEX, IN INSURANCE (SIC 63, 64) IN THE SF-O SMSA, BASED ON 1973 EEO-1 DATA

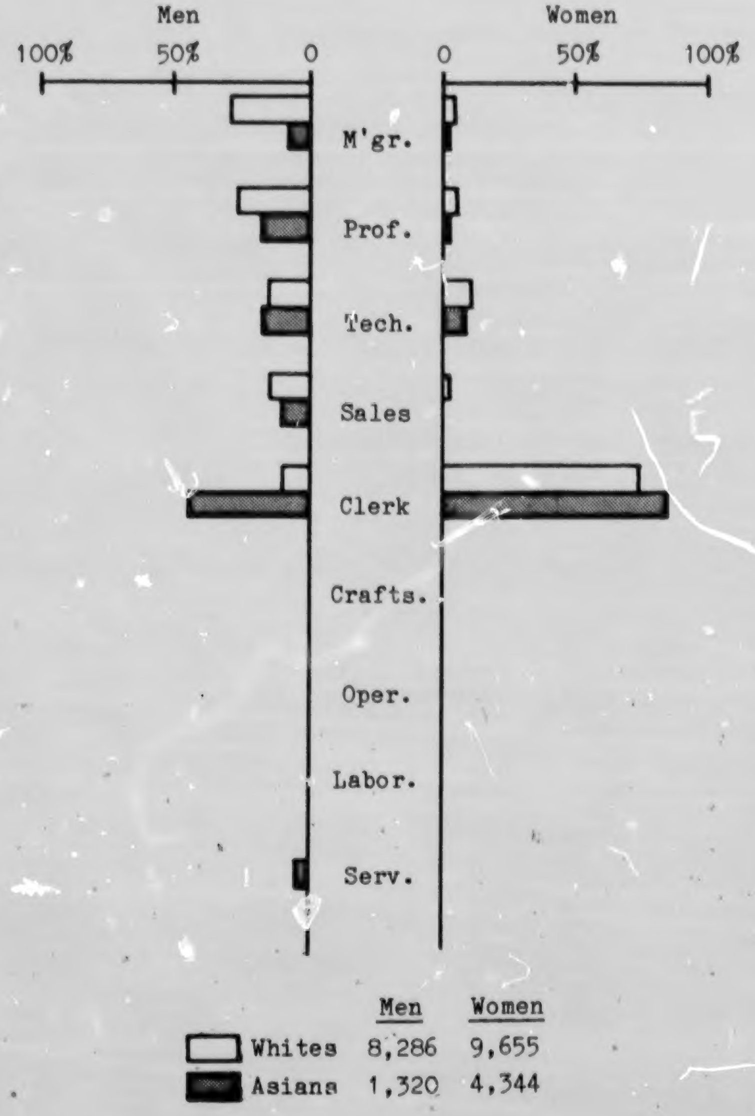


FIGURE 15

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIANS AND WHITES, BY SEX, IN HOTELS AND OTHER LODGING PLACES (SIC 70) IN THE SF-O SMSA. BASED ON 1973 EEO-1 DATA

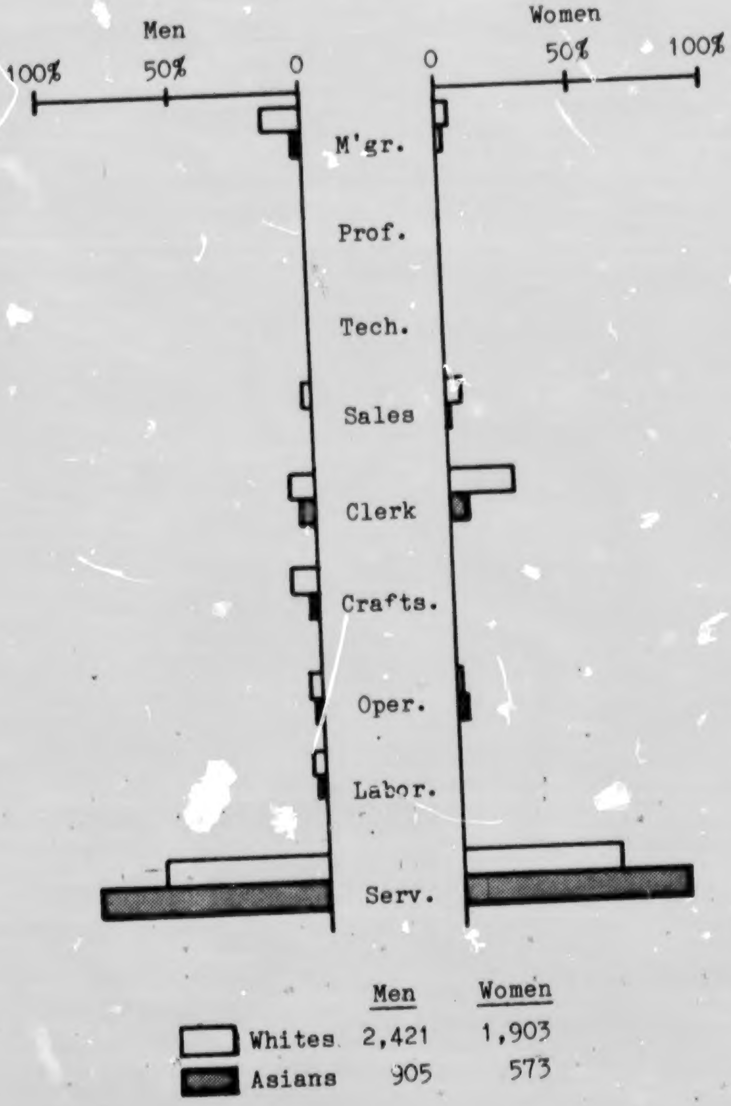
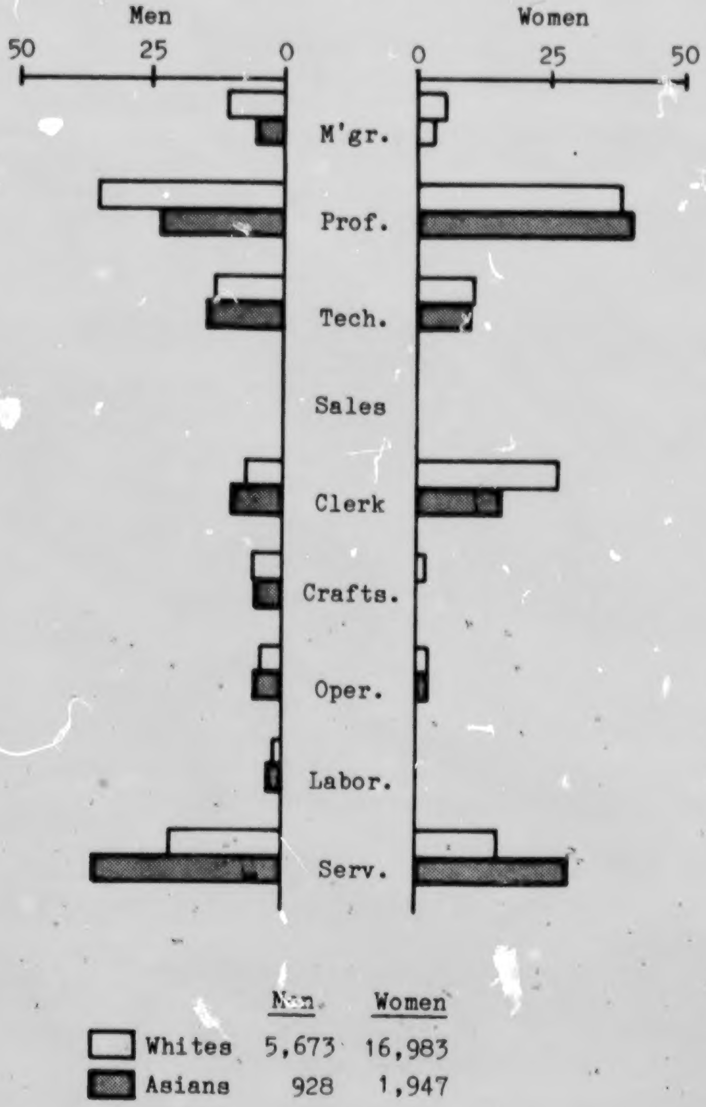


FIGURE 16

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ASIANS AND WHITES, BY SEX, IN MEDICAL AND OTHER HEALTH SERVICES (SIC 80) IN THE SF-O SMSA, BASED ON 1973 EEO-1 DATA



In conclusion, the above analysis shows that Asian-American women in the large, private industries in the San Francisco-Oakland area are clustered in only a few industries. Moreover, within these industries, they are clustered in the clerical, operative, or service worker ranks (depending on the industry). These results, together with the previous occupational distribution analyses, confirm a low occupational status for Asian-American women.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The low economic status of Asian-American women is a direct result of their low status in the job markets. Other factors also contribute to the overall depressed economic status of Asian women, such as the low earning power of Asian men. The harsh reality, however, is that Asian-American women work in large numbers, whatever their age, marital status, or level of education; and that most--educated, skilled, and unskilled alike--have low earning power.

High priority for research should go to analysis and data collection which will enable us to understand the underlying causes of the employment and economic status of Asian-American women. With some grasp on the causes, we can begin to work on the solutions to our problems. It is also critical that the research should have a public policy and action focus to ensure that research efforts go toward meeting issues which have a high priority in the Asian communities.

Progress toward understanding the underlying causes of the occupational and educational needs of Asian-American women can be more quickly and efficiently made if the research is conducted by people who are already close to the problems and who also have the technical and scientific skills to analyze them. We strongly recommend that the research be performed by Asian-American men and women who have already demonstrated their technical competence and prior understanding of the Asian communities.

We have seen clearly that the problems and needs vary within the Asian-Pacific subgroups and that research and data respect and address the differences among the groups. Although most of the data presented here have related only to three groups, Filipino, Japanese, and Chinese women, this does not mean the needs of the other groups are any less important. What it does reflect is the handicap which the census collection of primary data imposes on research when data are not collected for all relevant population groups. Therefore, in addition to and in summary of the many recommendations for further research already made in the text of this paper, the following recommendations are offered:

1. The Women's Research Program should work with the Bureau of the Census to obtain a comprehensive data base for the employment status of Asian women from the upcoming 1980 census. The data base should be developed for each specific Asian ethnicity: Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Hawaiian, Vietnamese, Thai, etc. To meet "control group"

requirements in future studies, data for Asian men, white men, and white women also should be obtained. The data base should be stratified by geographic area, containing high sample rates in SMSA's where Asians are concentrated: Honolulu, San Francisco, Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago. The data should be made available in computer tapes of the individual records, with names blocked out to protect confidentiality. This will ensure good access to the data by Asian and other researchers alike.

2. The above recommendation for the preparation and use of 1980 census data is made also for 1970 census data. Much can still be learned from the 1970 census if the data are made available through larger samples of individual file records. Again, this primarily entails the Bureau of the Census' preparing larger samples than the 1 percent samples presently available, and preparing samples for the areas where Asians are concentrated.

3. The following research problems should be addressed:

   a. Develop an occupational stratification theory for Asian-American women to uncover the factors that lead to their low occupational status and low earnings. Variables to consider would include education, socioeconomic background, first job status, marital status, fertility, immigration, sex discrimination, and race discrimination. Measures of the latter two factors need to be developed.

   b. Analyze the low returns that education has for Asian-American women in terms of occupation and earnings. Earnings disparities today appear to be most severe for those with a college education. Also, widespread underutilization of Asian women in jobs where they are presently concentrated should be studied.

   c. The preliminary analysis of Asian women in the San Francisco-Oakland SMSA and in California as a whole shows that Asian women work in a segmented labor market and that they tend to be concentrated in only part of private industry. Within these industries, they are clustered into low-status, low-paying jobs. Investigate ways to broaden their career options. Uncover patterns of race and sex discrimination that victimize large classes of Asian-American women.

4. Young Asian-American women appear to be beginning careers in poor jobs in spite of high educational attainment. Since early career has been found to have a strong influence on

eventual occupational status, investigate the reasons for this poor start. The effort can include early career counseling in college, the analysis of a wider range of career options rather than those leading to stereotyped jobs, and perhaps even preparation for choosing and applying for the first job.

5. Asian women also appear to have poor job mobility. Thus, once employed in low status dead-end jobs, they tend to be confined there. The largest rank of Asian women workers is composed of clerks in banks, insurance companies, a Government agencies. Investigate ways to upgrade the careers of these women.

6. Asian-American women are absent from the managerial ranks and other leadership positions. Investigate means of channeling Asian women into leadership positions in education, Government, business, health, and other areas. This can entail a needs assessment program followed by education and training.

7. Asian-American women, besides researchers, scholars, and other members of the Asian community, should continue to participate in the Women's Research Program. Asians should be given the opportunity to provide input on the needs and concerns of their own communities. It is important that they themselves conduct the various needs assessment programs, research studies, and training and other development programs that may be initiated to meet their needs. Otherwise, Asian-Americans will continue to be misrepresented as to their true demographic, socioeconomic, and employment status in the United States.

8. An immediate need is to assess the attitudes of young Asian-American women who are still in school, as well as those who are already working, to determine how knowledgeable they are about their employment prospects. If we find that they are not well informed about their employment futures, we should begin immediately to provide job, career, and educational counseling.

9. We need to explore immediately, also, the attitudes that Asian-American women have toward work and family formation and dissolution so they can be assisted in coping with the dual burdens of home and job.

10. We need to know how Asian women respond to sex and race discrimination in their educational programs and at work, and we need to know their individual and collective capabilities for dealing with discrimination.

11. We need to know much more about what affects and determines first job experience, how women get their jobs, what their search process is, what the pressures are to work, what their staying power is to refuse low level jobs to improve their entry level position, what use they make of community resources, and how their aspirations are formed.

    Many of these recommendations deal with attitudes on which very little data have been collected. This information is most critical if we are to have policy, social change, and program-oriented research which will subsequently enable us to solve the problems facing Asian women.

12. Asian-American women are by definition a minority group. It is therefore critical that regulations governing requests for proposals for research and demonstration projects do not automatically exclude minorities by calling for "maximum impact." The problems of minority women must be addressed as such and not subsumed under the categories of minority or women, where their problems are lost, ignored, or not dealt with properly.

13. We recommend that the National Institute of Education, which has already taken a leadership role in addressing the issues facing minority women, continue in this role and remain sensitive to the diversity of problems among the various ethnic groups.

NOTES

[1] Again, the data are what are available, not what are required.

[2] Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, *Equal Employment Opportunity Report, 1973: Job Patterns for Minorities and Women in Private Industry* (Washington, D.C.: EEOC, 1973); this series dates back to 1967 (the EEOC started collecting data in 1966).

[3] State of California, Employment Development Department, *Area Manpower Review, San Francisco-Oakland SMSA: Employment Outlook and Manpower Planning Report, Fiscal Year 1975-1976* (San Francisco: State of California, Northern California Employment Data and Research, EDD, 1975), p. 65.

[4] EEOC, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

[5] Executive Office of the President, Office of Management and Budget, *Standard Industrial Classification Manual 1972* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).

[6] Division of Apprenticeship Standards, State of California Department of Industrial Relations. April 1976 tabulation, "Women Apprentices, By Occupation, California."

[7] A. M. Mood and F. A. Graybill, *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950), p. 318.

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SOCIAL MOBILITY OF ASIAN WOMEN IN AMERICA:

A CRITICAL REVIEW

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SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE ON ASIAN-AMERICANS

If this paper were only a review of the professional literature on the social mobility patterns of Asian women in America, there would not be enough material to fill one typewritten page. Although stratification and mobility is one of the long established fields in academic sociology, until the last decade very few sociologists have concerned themselves with the status and movement of either women or minorities in American society, let alone those of people whose identification straddles both groups. The few recent sociological studies on the social mobility of minority women have been on the larger minority populations such as black women (Epstein 1973). Asian-American women as a group have received very little attention from sociologists in general, regardless of their field of specialization. In fact, Asian-Americans, male and female, have occupied a minor position only in sociological literature. The few monographs written by sociologists either have focused on the relocation experience of the Japanese-Americans (Thomas and Nishimoto 1969; Thomas 1952; Bloom and Riemer 1949), or are general treatises of a textbook nature (Lee 1960; Kitano 1969; Peterson 1971; Lyman 1974). Some exceptions are Loewen's study on the Mississippi Chinese (1971), Tan's study on the social mobility of the Chinese in America (1973), and forthcoming monographic works derived from the Japanese-American Research Project at UCLA.

Besides monographs, sociologists have also published articles on the subject of Asian-Americans. A survey of the four oldest American sociological journals revealed that between the years 1895 (when the American Journal of Sociology began publication) and 1975, a total of 137 articles containing information on Asian-American or Pacific Islander groups were published. The majority of these articles appeared within the two decades around World War II. In addition, as table 1 indicates, 60 percent of the articles were found in Sociology and Social Research, judged by the profession to be the least prestigious of the four journals (Glenn 1971). These 137 articles comprise less than 1 percent of the total number of articles published in these journals during the past 80 years.

Among the individual Asian and Pacific Islander groups studied, the Japanese in America clearly received the most attention (45 percent), followed by the Chinese (31 percent), and the Filipinos (18 percent). Despite the fact that other groups such as the East Indians and the Koreans have had at least 60 years of history in America, and the fact

TABLE 1

ARTICLES CONTAINING INFORMATION ON ASIAN AMERICANS AND PACIFIC ISLANDERS PUBLISHED IN THE FOUR OLDEST AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL JOURNALS, 1895-1975

	AJS*					S & SR*					SF*					ASR*					
	C	J	F	O	A**	C	J	F	O	A	C	J	F	O	A	C	J	F	O	A	Total
1895-1915	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1916-1920	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
1921-1925	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	2[a]	2	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	8
1926-1930	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	14
1931-1935	2	1	0	0	0	5	4	4	1[b]	4	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	21
1936-1940	1	0	0	0	2	0	3	6	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	14
1941-1945	1	0	0	0	0	2	5	2	1[c]	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	17
1946-1950	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1[c]	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	13
1951-1955	2	2	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	15
1956-1960	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	9
1961-1965	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	7
1966-1970	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7
1971-1975	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	12
Total	11	9	0	0	5	15	25	17	5	19	4	6	1	0	4	1	6	1	0	7	137

*American Journal of Sociology (1895-1975); Sociology and Social Research (1916-1975); Social Forces (1922-1975); American Sociological Review (1936-1975).

**C=Chinese, J=Japanese, F=Filipino, O=others, A=Asian-Americans as a group.

[a] Two articles on Samoans

[b] Article on Hawaiians

[c] Article on East Indians

that Samoans and Hawaiians became Americans through annexation, the four journals showed little or no interest in their social conditions or their relations with the majority population. While the omission indicates the lack of concern in academic sociology for understanding certain groups in American society, as it has turned out, the little attention that has been given to the Japanese and Chinese-Americans has resulted in a distorted impression of these two groups as the "model minorities" (Takagi 1973; Hirata 1976). The Chinese and the Japanese, without a doubt, have been promoted by professionals and laymen alike as success stories, to perpetuate the illusion of America as an open and free society. As Lipset and Bendix (1966) noted:

> One may speculate, for example, that extensive publicity concerning famous cases of great mobility may sustain a strong belief in the availability of opportunities, even when there are few of them, and that such a belief may have a stabilizing influence on a society.

Focusing our attention on the subject population at hand, we found that among all the 137 articles published in the four sociological journals mentioned above, only 20 included some discussion on Asian-American women. Very often such discussions merely occupied a few lines as a result of routine sociological analysis. For example, Ikeda, Ball, and Yamamura (1962) in their study of the possible links between ethnicity and personality disturbances found that Okinawans in Hawaii had higher rates of schizophrenia than Naichi, which held true when controlled for time, sex, age, nationality, and residence. However, they also found that Okinawan women had lower rates than Okinawan men and suggested that it was possibly because Okinawan females in urban Hawaii used outmarriage as a mechanism of escape. When an entire article was devoted to the subject of Asian-American women, it was almost always on the phenomenon of intermarriage (Lam 1932; Cheng and Yamamura 1957), or on the adjustment problems of war brides (Schnepp and Yui 1955; Kimura 1957).

SOCIAL MOBILITY

Turning our attention to articles that dealt with social mobility, we found that, of the eight studies on the mobility of Asian-Americans published in these journals, none focused specifically on women. The authors either lumped males and females together with no differentiation or excluded females from the data altogether. Thus Lee (1949) wrote on the occupational changes of the Chinese in Butte, Montana, and Kwoh (1948) discussed the occupational mobility of American-born Chinese male college graduates. Some researchers such as Schmid and Nobbs (1965) presented limited data on Asian-American women's educational attainment in their discussion of the trends in socioeconomic statuses of nonwhite races. But as a group, Asian-American women are excluded from their study on changes in the occupational structure.

Clearly, then, if we want to know what has been said about the social mobility patterns of Asian-American women, we need to look beyond the more established journals of sociological research. Unfortunately, even then we find very little information, which almost invariably repeats the success story theme so prevalent in the writings on Chinese- and Japanese-Americans in general. Those studies share several serious problems. Here, the ambiguity and confusion in the general sociological literature on mobility is acutely reflected.

The Success Story

One set of problems has to do with the reputed rise of Asian-American women. In general, two ways of presenting this mobility can be discerned from the literature. Professional sociologists writing on the subject have often followed some form of Weber's conceptualization of status, using educational attainment, occupational achievement, and/or income level as its indicators. Thus, using census data concerning the educational achievement and occupational distribution of Japanese females, Varon (1967) concluded that their status improved greatly between 1950 and 1960, and therefore they should no longer be considered a minority. In their recent report Wilber et al. (1975) on occupational mobility of Asian-Americans, they included separate data for women and reported a number of findings based on the Public Use Samples of the 1970 census. They found that (1) Korean men are more mobile than other Asian-American men, but among Oriental women Filipinos are most mobile; (2) Korean and Chinese men are more mobile than Korean and Chinese women, but the reverse is true among Japanese and Filipinos; (3) with the exception of Korean women, there is an inverse relationship between age and mobility for Asian-American women; (4) Korean women are the most upwardly mobile group and Filipino women are the least; (5) in comparison with Asian-American men, Asian-American women move shorter distances upward and longer distances downward; (6) education tends to relate positively with the distance in upward mobility, but relates negatively with the distance in downward mobility for Asian women; (7) with various exceptions, controlling for educational attainment, Japanese and Chinese mobile women fail to move upward as far as white women, and they also tend to move further downward than white women; (8) with the exception of Korean women, among upwardly mobile Asian women, the foreign-born tend to move greater distances than the native-born; and among the downwardly mobile, the foreign-born tend to drop further than the native-born; (9) among upwardly mobile Chinese women, there is a positive relationship between mobility and births of additional children. The relationship for other Asian groups is not distinct; (10) for the Japanese women, distances of mobility upward are shorter and distances of mobility downward longer as the number of children born increases. The relationship is not quite clear for other Asian groups; (11) a fourth of the Japanese mobile women were in the clerical occupations in both 1965 and 1970; the moves of Korean women resulted in gains in operative and private household serviceworkers; mobile Chinese women evidenced a notable shift toward clerical jobs, but they lost ground in the upper white-collar occupations and in service jobs; Filipino women lost ground in professional and managerial jobs, moving toward clerical and service jobs.

Although the Wilber study presents much valuable data, it is confined to a small sample of Asian-American women who were occupationally mobile either horizontally or vertically during a 5-year period, and thus is extremely limited. While it attempts to compare Asian groups with each other, Asian women with white women, and Asian men with Asian women, it gives virtually no explanation for any of the patterns discovered in the study. Nevertheless, the authors concluded that Asians have conquered discrimination and emerged into the "new middle class." Setting aside the conceptual problems temporarily and confining ourselves to the data at hand, several questions come immediately to mind. First, some of the empirical findings concerning Asian-American women cited above seem to contradict the conclusion; second, it has already been pointed out by other sociologists that using large occupational categories such as professional, managerial, etc. tends to mask the difference between men and women (Havens and Tully 1972), and it is certainly reasonable to expect that their adoption in this study also results in distortions. Third, while the authors recognized that their occupational scale necessarily assumed the homogeneity of occupational prestige for different segments of the population, they did not seem much bothered by it, and applied the same scale to both men and women and white and Asian samples. Do Asian managers enjoy the same prestige as white managers? Do women professors have the same status as male professors? Common sense and some sociologists tell us the answers to both questions are "no," but Wilber et al. assumed that they were affirmative (Haug 1973; 1975).

There are more essays that deal with Asian women's changing status than there are quantitative studies. Most of these essays are found in nonsociological publications. Here the success story is told in a different way. The status of Asian-American women is said to have improved a great deal because they are less oppressed (Sung 1967; Fujitomi and Wong 1973). Very often the writers start by recounting women's status in traditional Asian societies before emigration, where feudal relations between men and women predominated. Then, they describe the early immigrant women's lives on the American frontier as prostitutes or unpaid family laborers on farms; and finally, their increased participation in the labor force and their freedom from family control are pointed out and their future emancipation and improvement predicted.

It is hard to argue with the historical facts. But putting the emphasis on "improvement," as many of these essays do, tends to create illusions. While there is no doubt that women were oppressed under feudalism, there should not be any doubt that they are also oppressed under capitalism. Both situations have been well documented (Altbach 1971; Rossi 1973). The fact that Asian women moved from being unpaid family workers to wage workers is an improvement only in an extremely limited sense. That Asian-American women had to sell their labor power in the marketplace in order for the family to survive, that the lack of socialized child care and housework still meant that married women had to work both as wage workers and as unpaid domestic workers, that most Asian-American women still are concentrated in low-paying jobs (Sung 1975; Wilber et al. 1975), by no means should be taken as constituting "success."

While educational attainment is sometimes used as an indication of status, it is also used as a causal factor. Sociologists and other writers have claimed that the improvement in Asian women's status is largely due to their educational aspiration and achievement (Brooks and Kunihiro 1952; Wilber et al. 1975). However, there appears to be some doubt about the relationship between education and economic status when we note that Asian-American females who completed at least 5 years of college had lower median earnings in 1969 than men and white women with the same educational achievement (Wilber et al. 1975). That many Asian women have occupations and income levels which are not commensurate with their education points to the seriousness of downward mobility for professionally trained, immigrant women (Urban Associates 1974). The recent finding that preemployment training and education does not much improve the job opportunities of black and Puerto Rican women is worth noting (Baker and Levanson 1975). The failure of sociologists to explain why there is a high dispersion of occupational income or why the explanatory power of education is low has long been pointed out (Miller 1971). In relation to Asian-Americans and other minorities, such failures seem even less excusable.

Another common explanation for the "success" of Asian women, particularly the Japanese, is that they possess certain qualities such as diligence, docility, loyalty, etc. (Jacobson and Rainwater 1953). There are two ways of looking at this approach. One is that since these are the traits that have moved Asian women out of blue-collar jobs into white-collar jobs, they are positive qualities or stereotypes to be maintained. On the other hand, as Szymanski (1974) pointed out, corporate managers look for certain traits in workers, both men and women, to insure that they will be more productive but less troublesome for the corporation. Seen in this light, the imputed traits are barriers to working-class struggles against corporate capitalists and managers, and therefore they become a liability rather than an asset in the long run.

In summary, the existing meager literature that has dealt with the mobility of Asian-American women as workers has concentrated on how their occupational or general social status has improved in the past and how it will continue to improve. Implicit in these studies is the assumption of an open and competitive status structure. The more similar the pattern of Asian-American women's status is to white women's, and the more it is similar to white men's, the more it is considered to be improved. Again, the ghost of the assimilationist looms large. This observation leads to another major theme in the existing literature on Asian-American women, which deals with marital mobility.

Marital Mobility

In the past, sociologists have not paid much attention to the conceptualization of women's social status. It has generally been assumed that women did not have an independent status but merely derived their status from the men with whom they were related: their fathers and their husbands. With women's increasing participation in the labor force, this assumption recently has been called into question (Ritter and Hargens 1975; Haug 1973). Today, many sociologists in their studies of mobility would allow women to have an independent status in addition to their derived status. Thus, for example, Tyree and Treas (1974) discussed the intergenerational occupational mobility of women by comparing father's occupation with daughter's occupation, and defined marital mobility as the movement from father's occupation to that of the husband's. That a married woman's social status is still a function of both her own occupational achievement and that of her husband's is probably true in our society today. Given this phenomenon, sociologists have studied the question of class exogamy and have raised the question: Do American women marry up?" (Rubin 1968; Scott 1969; Glenn et al. 1974; Van Den Berghe 1960).

It is within this tradition that we found a number of articles concerning Asian-American women, nearly all of which tried to explain the rate of outmarriages among certain groups by relating it to the women's desire to marry "up." Thus, following Cheng and Yamamura (1957), Kikumura and Kitano (1973) speculated that one of the reasons why Japanese-American females married Caucasians was that they hoped "to improve their status by marrying members of a group that has more economic and social privileges." That intermarriage is believed to be a mechanism by which Asian women seek to improve their status is also reflected in the more popular literature. An article in Newsweek (7 September 1970) reported that of the more than 800 Vietnamese-American marriages recorded in the first 8 months of 1970, two-thirds were marriages contracted between Vietnamese women and American civilians. The article went on to say that while American males married Vietnamese women for their beauty and charm, Vietnamese women married American males for their money and social status.

The social status of intermarrying grooms, however, as it has been shown in some studies, turns out to have been rather low (Schmitt and Souza 1963). A study of marriage license applications in Los Angeles County yielded some interesting findings concerning the relationship between intermarriage and social mobility for Asian-American women (Burma, Crester, and Seacrest 1970). As indicated in table 2, on the average, Asian women did not marry up whether they married someone in their own group or Anglos. With the exception of Chinese brides, who tended to gain status by marrying Chinese grooms, in general all other marriages indicated a downward movement for the brides although intermarriages between Asian brides and Anglo grooms somewhat retarded this downward mobility for Asian females. If a family's social status is determined by the husband's occupational status, as so many people believe, then, clearly, Asian women do not have anything to gain in their general social standing through marriage, whether ingroup or outgroup.

In this connection, it is well to note that a recent study on family status has found that black respondents tend to give more weight to the wife's occupational achievement than white respondents in rating the social standing of hypothetical families (Sampson and Rossi 1975). The authors speculated that the difference in perception of family social standing between black and white respondents may be that black women contribute more to their families than do the white women. Since Asian women tend to marry "down," their higher independent status relative to their husbands would contribute more toward the family's social standing. It would be illuminating to explore how such a situation affects the general level of sexism within Asian-American groups.

Since racial and ethnic groups are stratified in American society and since this hierarchical structure is not precisely similar to occupational stratification, we face the complex problem of the interrelationship between race and class when we talk about marital mobility through intermarriage. The limited literature that we have suggests that Asian women on the average marry "down" occupationally. If such is the case, marrying a member of the majority group may then have some compensatory effect.

SUMMARY OF LITERATURE

To conclude our review of the existing literature on, or related to, the social mobility of Asian-American women, we have found that: (1) there has been very limited serious study on this topic and, as far as we could discover, no intergenerational study or cohort study of mobility;

TABLE 2

MEAN OCCUPATIONAL STATUS LEVELS OF ASIAN BRIDES AND INGROUP OR ANGLO GROOMS, LOS ANGELES COUNTY 1960-1961*

	Brides' occupational mean	Grooms' occupational mean
Chinese bride, Chinese groom	3.63	2.43
Chinese bride, Anglo groom	3.62	3.65
Japanese bride, Japanese groom	3.84	4.08
Japanese bride, Anglo groom	3.82	3.93
Filipino bride, Filipino groom	3.91	5.47
Filipino bride, Anglo groom	4.29	4.62

*From Burma, Crester, and Seacrest, p. 514. Occupational mean is based on Hollingshead's seven-level occupational status scale. Occupational level 1 is the highest status level and occupational level 7 is the lowest.

(2) what we have found is not particularly exciting, either in terms of its contribution to theoretical formulation of social mobility or in terms of its practical application; the data are basically descriptive; (3) the status of Asian-American women, very ambiguously or inadequately conceptualized, is said to have improved a great deal from its origin in Asian countries through the frontier days to 1970; very little attempt is made to relate this general change to the contexts within which changes occurred; (4) Asian-American women, like other women, are said to have two ways to gain or lose status: through occupational achievement and through marriage.

Given the paucity of literature concerning any aspect of the social mobility of Asian-American women, one may propose collecting data on the variations and determinants of social status among Asian females, as well as on the consequences of upward, downward, or horizontal mobility both on an individual basis and on a group basis. One may also propose a program to systematically replicate studies concerning white women or Asian men on the population of Asian-American women, to see if they differ from other societal groups in the various aspects of mobility. Such a program would not be difficult to draw up. Recent reviews of sociological literature concerning sex stratification will be a useful guide (Lipman-Blumen and Tickmayer 1975; Huber 1976). These are perfectly acceptable endeavors and indeed perhaps should be undertaken by sociologists, but I would like to suggest a line of research that is somewhat different.

TOWARD A NEW FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS

A perennial debate in sociological writings concerns the different conceptions of social stratification of "Marxists" and "Weberians" (Giddens 1975; Bendix 1974; Stolzman and Gamberg 1974). The issue is, of course, too complex to be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that so far no serious study that deals with the class position of the Asian-Americans in the Marxist sense has been located, although there are some promising beginnings coming from leftist political groups in the Asian-American movement (Hirata 1976). Since the aim of a Marxist analysis is explicitly change-oriented, it is not interested in descriptions of movement between occupational or income categories except insofar as such changes can be related to class position, class consciousness, and class struggle. Adopting this perspective, one could generate a systematic program of investigations concerning Asian women's position in the development of capitalism in America, their position within the current relations of production, their relationship to other segments of the population, their role in the class struggle, and so on. This, of course, would be no easy task. I can only provide some very preliminary suggestions to illustrate what I mean.

It has been pointed out that early immigrants from Asia provided a major source of cheap labor for the development of the American West. However, few accounts have included women in this connection. Were Chinese, Japanese, Korean, or Filipino women recruited to be laborers just like the men? If the answer is no, why not? More specifically, what features in the means and organization of production precluded their recruitment? And what elements in the superstructure prevented their participation as immigrant laborers? If the answer is yes, then were they found in the same occupations or did they perform a different role in the economy? Again, how do we account for these differences?

If we try to organize the history and contemporary social life of Asian women in the framework of the American economy, we can distinguish between the following labor roles of Asian women: as contract labor, as unpaid family labor, as wage labor, and as reproducers of the work force.

The Era of Contract Labor: The Case of Chinese Prostitution in 19th-Century California

As it is generally known that many white women who immigrated to America in the 1880's were prostitutes (U.S. Immigration Commission 1910; Sanger 1939), a number of studies have suggested that the majority of early Chinese immigrant women also came as prostitutes (Loomis 1869; Farwell 1885; McLeod 1948; Layman 1974). While these studies described the women's miserable existence and explained their importation in functional terms, none dealt in any depth with prostitution as a socio-economic institution. There are many documents which seem to indicate that the relationship between the Chinese prostitute and her master/mistress was essentially the same as that between a contract laborer and his/her employer. The terms were more severe and the "commodity" that was contracted was not labor power but sex. For example, one contract stated that:

> The contracter Xin Jin because coming from China to San Francisco became indebted to her master/mistress, will voluntarily work as a prostitute at Tan Fu's place for four and one-half years for an advance of $1205 to pay this debt. There shall be no interest on the money and Xin Jin shall receive no wages. At the expiration of the contract, Xin Jin shall be free to do as she pleases. Before then, if a customer asks to take her out, she shall first secure the master/mistress's permission. If she has the four loathsome diseases she shall be returned within 100 days, beyond that time the procurer has no responsibility. Menstruation disorder is limited to one month's rest only. If Xin Jin shall be sick at any time for more than 15 days, she shall work one month extra. If she becomes pregnant, she shall work one year extra. If Xin Jin runs away before her time is out, she shall pay whatever expense is incurred in finding and returning her. This is a contract to be retained by the master/mistress as evidence of the agreement.
>
> Receipt of $1250 by Ah Yo.
>
> Thumb print of Xin Jin the contractee.
>
> Eighth month 11th day of the 12th year of
>
> Guang-Xu.

What were the social origins or women like Xin Jin? Were they the daughters of displaced farmers in rural Southern China during the 19th century, relatives of unemployed transportation coolies, or bankrupt small business owners? Did they come voluntarily as prostitutes, or were they tricked, kidnapped, or sold by their parents and relatives? Who profited from their presence--the Chinese laborers and the non-Chinese workers who were their customers? The Chinese tongs, the American police force, the white politicans and entrepreneurs? Or the employers of male Chinese laborers who, because of the availability of prostitutes could buy their labor power without having to pay for the support of their families? In other words, what was the economic role of these early Chinese female immigrants?

Published materials tend either to dwell on the exotic and the sensational (Gentry 1974; Gibson 1877) or to glorify the rescue efforts of missionaries such as Donaldina Cameron (Wilson 1931). On the subject of prostitutes as workers and prostitution as a socioeconomic institution under capitalism, we know very little. In this connection, some useful comparisons may be found in the works of Bebel (1904) and Goldman (1917) as well as recent Marxist writings that treat prostitutes who work for a pimp or brothel as essentially highly exploited and oppressed workers rather than as part of the lumpen proletariat (Hill 1975; Barnett 1976).

Since Western sources have concentrated on the prostitutes as the predominant group among early Chinese female immigrants to the exclusion of other groups, one could easily get the impression that all, or nearly all, Chinese women who came in the 19th century were prostitutes. Chinese sources, which have largely been ignored by Western scholars, seem to indicate that many women also came to America as intellectuals, laborers, shopowners, and housewives (Chen 1933; A Ying 1960). We know virtually nothing about these early immigrant women.

Petit-bourgeoisie and Domestic and Wage Labor

Throughout the years since the repeal of the Exclusion Act, Chinese women as well as women from other Asian countries have continued to come as workers, entrepreneurs, and housewives. In the meantime, American women of Asian ancestry are also found in these and other categories. Because Asian groups differ in terms of their period and conditions of immigration, their fertility rates, the relationship between their countries of origin and the U.S., and so on, their specific experiences will not be the same. Nevertheless, their class positions and their relationships with other segments of the American population are perhaps more similar than different. We can take each category and examine its position and movement, investigating among other things its emergence and its decomposition.

In 1975, Hill reported that most of the women and Third World people who are in the business sector of the petit-bourgeoisie are owners of small businesses, and their standard of living is roughly equivalent to that of the working class. As owners of small businesses, they are under tremendous pressure from the conglomerates, monopolies, corporations, and franchises, and therefore are inclined to oppose the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, their hope is to "make it," and their dependence on the bourgeoisie for materials and funds often leads them to align with the bourgeoisie against the working class (Hill 1975). Historically, Japanese Americans and Issei, in particular, have concentrated heavily in the petit-bourgeoisie as owners of small businesses (Bloom and Riemer 1949), and Chinese immigrants have often been operators of laundries, restaurants, sewing shops, and small stores (Lee 1960). Among recent Korean immigrants, many are known to be small business owners (Bonacich et al., n.d.). These enterprises depend heavily on unpaid family labor, mostly women. Their dual status of part owner and part wageless labor places them in a special category. Since small businesses have been a salient feature of Asian-American economic life, it would be very instructive to understand how they have emerged and where they may end up. The average "life expectancy" of a new small business is estimated at only 18 months (Hill 1975). When businesses fold, do owners and their families then "sink into the proletariat" or "rise into the bourgeoisie"?

A great deal of recent Marxist and feminist literature has examined housework and the role of the housewife in a capitalist economy (Oakley 1976; Fee 1976). Recognizing that close to 50 percent of Asian-American women are still primarily housewives, we may follow this research development and investigate Asian women as reproducers of the work force.

The 1970 census indicates that Asian women workers are concentrated in a few occupational categories: clerical, service, and operative. The first two are generally considered as white-collar occupations and the last comprise semiskilled, blue-collar jobs. The division between white- and blue-collar occupations reflects the traditional separation between mental and physical work. This division has created certain consequences: there is a sense of superiority on the part of office workers over floor workers; union actiivities among office workers are somehow regarded as inappropriate by the workers themselves; the development of a unified working class has been hindered; etc. Recent strikes of white-collar workers such as teachers indicate a trend toward the merging of these divisions. Since so many Asian women are white-collar workers, it is especially important to understand both their objective and subjective class positions.

Most of the Asian women operatives work in the garment industry, where union activities are very limited. The efforts of Asian female garment workers to organize into unions and coooperatives are largely untold and unanalyzed. Recently a number of brief accounts of these struggles have appeared in print (Nee and Nee 1972; Fong 1975; Lan 1971; Getting Together 1972; Wei Min She 1974) but the work has just begun. We need to know much more about the historical development of the Asian women's working class, and about the relationship between garment workers, shopowners, manufacturers, and wholesale and retail outlets. Systematic and serious studies of the development of the working-class Asian women should have priority.

TRIPLE OPPRESSION

Since the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's and the development of the women's movement, Asian-American women have developed a new consciousness of themselves as a group oppressed by both racism and sexism in American society. While some scholars have argued that the two negatives turned out to have positive effects on the mobility of black women, many probably feel that minority women are indeed doubly jeopardized. It is perhaps true that Asian female professionals may have gained in status and have become more visible models of "success," but for the majority of Asian women certainly nothing of significance seems to have changed. It would be illuminating to study the personnel of organizations that have sprung up as a result of the social movements in the sixties. Perhaps we will find that the disadvantaged whom these organizations were supposed to serve gained much less than those who claimed to serve them. The result is unintended but nevertheless may be real.

In closing, if we are aware that:

> on top of the gradually merging social layers of blue- and white-collar workers in the United States, there is a very small social upper class which comprises at most 1 percent of the population and has a very different life style from the rest of us . . . which: a. has a disproportionate amount of wealth and income; b. generally fares better than other social groups on a variety of well-being statistics ranging from infant mortality rates to educational attainments to feelings of happiness to health and longevity; c. controls the major economic institutions of the country; and d. dominates the governmental processes of the country (Dumhoff 1974),

perhaps we may be convinced that conventional mobility studies will not provide much of a clue to our problems.

POSTSCRIPT

Many participants in this conference have spoken on the prejudice and discrimination against Pacific Island and Asian-American women, and have made sensible and strong recommendations for research and policy that are directed toward minimizing and eliminating these injustices. While I agree wholeheartedly that we must have equal opportunity in education, employment, and promotion, we should not forget that it is only part of a solution. If 10 people are each to receive a piece of pie, to use Jean Lipmen-Blumen's analogy, making 10 additional people compete for the same pie will have one of two results: 1) the 10 people who are originally eligible for a piece will resist the challenge of the 10 newcomers, and the newcomers will resent the oldtimers. The 20 individuals may have equal opportunity to compete for the pie, but only 10 will get it; those who do not will still go hungry; or 2) all 20 people will have smaller pieces; none will be satisfied. I don't believe either result is intended. When we know that there are ingredients and tools to make enough pies for all people, we must seek out ways to control these resources and their distribution to insure that everyone gets a large enough piece. While we struggle for equal opportunity, I hope we will not forget that equal opportunity alone will not bring social equality.

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APPENDIX

Chinese Foreign Miners' Tax

From 1850 to 1870, this tax was collected in California almost exclusively from Chinese miners who during the first 4 years of the tax had to pay 50 percent of the total revenue obtained from the mines and, during the next 16 years, 98 percent.

Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882

This act prohibited immigration of Chinese and wives of Chinese residents already in the United States for 10 years. It effectively limited the formation of Chinese families and the development of a viable Chinese community. The act also excluded Chinese immigrants from becoming naturalized citizens. (The Japanese, Filipinos, and other Asians were later added to this category.)

Japanese-Alien Land Law

California passed this law in 1913 to prevent Japanese aliens from further purchase of land and to restrict leases to 3 years.

ELDERLY PACIFIC ISLAND AND ASIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN: A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING

Sharon M. Fujii

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to examine specific characteristics and circumstances of elderly Asian and Pacific Island women living in the United States. It constitutes an initial attempt to understand a segment of Pacific Island and Asian-American populations, namely those women aged 65 and over.

The paper is divided into three sections. The first section, based on available 1970 census data, examines sociodemographic characteristics of elderly Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women. Characteristics such as sex, marital status, educational attainment, employment status, occupational patterns, and income levels are presented for each of these Asian-American populations. Other Pacific Island and Asian populations are not considered in this paper because census data are incomplete. These groups (i.e., Koreans, Samoans, Hawaiians, etc.) should not be overlooked. Future efforts should be directed toward gaining a better understanding of them. Whenever possible, three types of comparisons have been made: (1) between elderly females and males of a particular group, (2) among elderly Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women, and (3) between elderly Asian-American women and elderly women in general.

Sociodemographic attributes represent one dimension for understanding elderly Asian-Pacific women. In the second section of this paper, several other important dimensions are discussed, such as immigration histories, racism and stereotypic misconceptions, cultural origins, life history in the United States, and age-related changes that occur regardless of early learning or ethnicity. These dimensions, combined with accurate and up-to-date sociodemographic data, constitute a broad framework for understanding elderly Asian-Pacific-American women. However, it is not possible in this paper, given data and time constraints, to comprehensively analyze elderly Asian-Pacific women according to educational and occupational experiences as related to each of the aforementioned dimensions. In the final section, research considerations pertaining to older Asian-Pacific women are noted.

At the outset, the reader should recognize that this paper simply scratches the surface. It reflects the "state of the art" of current knowledge about elderly Asian-Pacific women in the United States. Thus it should not be viewed as a comprehensive document and commentary, but merely as a preliminary attempt to comprehend a relatively small but continuously growing and changing segment of Pacific Island and Asian populations in the United States.

Several constraints hampered preparation of a detailed account of the circumstances and experiences of elderly Asian-Pacific women in the United States. Most noticeable is the absence of research literature dealing with Pacific Islanders and Asian-Americans in general. "Some of the better materials, based on scientific methodologies, are unpublished empirical papers, theses, and dissertations, and are difficult to obtain" (Bell et al. 1976, p. 6). Moreover, only a small part of the literature focuses on the elderly, and virtually none specifically addresses the life circumstances of older Asian-Pacific women. In fact, the present status of these women must be gleaned from the literature through scant and often indirect references.

There are several possible explanations as to why the status and circumstances of elderly Asian-Pacific women have received virtually no attention in the literature. First, there have not been significant numbers of older women to demand attention. Second, cultural attitudes toward women may lead to neglect and unequal status. Asian-Pacific cultural attitudes have been reinforced by dominant American values and attitudes which, until recently, have severely restricted women in familial, educational, and occupational pursuits.

BACKGROUND

The term Asian-Pacific encompasses two broad categories: Asians and Pacific Islanders. Pacific Islanders include such subgroups as Hawaiians, Guamanians, Samoans, Tongans, Fijians, and Micronesians. Asians, on the other hand, refer to "those who reside in the United States, who share either Mongoloid or Malayan racial characteristics, and whose ancestors originated from the East Asian continent and its immediate surrounding areas" (Kim 1973, p. 45). Among the predominant Asian-American groups are the Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Koreans, East Indians, Thais, Vietnamese, and Cambodians.

These diverse groups are frequently referred to as Asian-Pacific as a matter of convenience; it should not suggest that they are all alike. Not only are the groups different in language, traditions, and religious practices, but there are also very real distinctions within each group.

For decades Asian-Pacific groups have been treated as part of the category "other" in public information reports. Only recently has an awareness and sensitivity to their existence emerged, stemming largely from minority group activities.

It is neither possible nor necessarily desirable to construct a composite profile of the "typical" elderly Asian-Pacific woman--one which would encompass variations among diverse groups. It is not possible simply because detailed information about subgroups has not been systematically compiled. Of greater importance, it is undesirable since it would overlook significant differences among the elderly women in the various Asian-Pacific populations.

Census information, while grossly incomplete for Asian-Pacific groups, provides limited demographic data for the Chinese, Filipinos, and Japanese. (Specific characteristics are reporteed for the Korean and Hawaiian populations; however, the data are not presented by age cohorts.) Table 1 shows the total number of elderly Chinese, Filipinos, and Japanese in the United States and the percentage of their total ethnic population as reported by the 1970 census.

TABLE 1

ELDERLY CHINESE, FILIPINOS, AND JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES
1970 CENSUS

	Total	65+ Yrs.	% Total
Chinese	431,583	26,856	6.22
Filipinos	336,731	21,249	6.31
Japanese	488,324	47,159	8.01

It should be noted that in none of the Asian groups does the proportion of elderly equal or surpass the average for the total U.S. elderly population: 10 percent. Several reasons may perhaps account for this phenomenon. The Japanese and particularly the Filipinos were among the later immigrants to this country and consequently have not had sufficient time to produce many generations of elderly. Further, some elderly Asians have returned to their homeland to retire and live out their remaining years.

Age data and other basic sociodemographic characteristics are not available for all the Asian and Pacific Island populations. Moreover, meaningful data for the Chinese, Filipinos, and Japanese require breakdowns by age and sex.

Census data must be viewed with caution. It is believed that a large segment of Asian-Pacific elderly did not or could not respond to census inquiries because of fears and suspicion of the Federal Government, based on past experience. Nonresponse also may be due to the inability to read, write, or speak the English language (Owan 1975, p. 4). Thus, many contend that the decennial census undercounts the Asian-Pacific populations, especially the elderly and rural segments (Kalish and Yuen 1971). In addition to being incomplete, census data may be biased in the direction of describing the better informed segment of the Asian-Pacific populations. However, the limited data available permit the following summary of the sociodemographic characteristics of Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women in the United States.

Chinese Elderly

According to the United States census, the number of elderly Chinese men exceeded women in 1970--15,244 and 11,612 respectively. This difference reflects earlier immigration patterns, dating back to the middle of the last century when men were needed as laborers, especially in the gold mines and for the railroads. Many expected to earn enough to return to their homeland and live in comfort among familiar surroundings. The United States immigration laws restricted the entry of women. Before 1880 fewer than 5 percent of the Chinese immigrants were women (Handlin 1973). Following the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, Chinese immigrants were prohibited from bringing their wives and children with them. With changing conditions, including the more liberal Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, the sex distribution of the Chinese elderly will eventually approach that of the total population of aged in the United States.

A majority of the elderly Chinese women are widowed, whereas the men are predominantly married, as shown in table 2.

TABLE 2

MARITAL STATUS OF ELDERLY CHINESE-AMERICANS BY SEX, 1970

	Male		Female	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Single	1,844	12	617	5
Married	9,808	64	4,537	39
Separated	342	2	140	1
Widowed	2,964	20	6,131	53
Divorced	286	2	187	2
TOTAL	15,244	100	11,612	100

Chinese women aged 65 and over have completed a median of 4.4 school years, while elderly Chinese men have completed 6.7 years. About 15.5

percent of the women were high school graduates, in comparison to 21.3 percent of their male counterparts. Twelve percent of the women were reported in the labor force in 1970 compared to 24.8 percent of the men. Of these older working Chinese women, 37 percent were employed as operatives. Basically, this means low-paid employment in essentially nonunionized establishments (e.g., the sewing factories). An additional 43 percent were employed as serviceworkers, salesworkers, and laborers.

As for older working Chinese men, about two-thirds worked in low-paying jobs (i.e., service, sales, clerical, laborers, and operatives). Although 18 percent were classified as managers and administrators, this is not necessarily indicative of better paying jobs, since many managed economically marginal small restaurants, laundries, and sewing shops.

In 1970, the median income for elderly Chinese women was reported at $1,188 and for men, $1,943.

Filipino Elderly

Of the total population of elderly Filipinos in the United States, there were only 3,897 women but 17,352 men, according to the 1970 census. The very small proportion of Filipino women reflects previous immigration patterns.

As might be expected with the large sex disparity among elderly Filipinos, there is an exceedingly high percentage of single men (see table 3). Many of the men who have married have crossed racial and ethnic lines. Elderly Filipino women, on the other hand, are either married or widowed.

TABLE 3

MARITAL STATUS OF ELDERLY FILIPINO-AMERICANS BY SEX, 1970

	Male		Female	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Single	4,868	28	382	10
Married	8,367	48	1,705	44
(with spouse of same race)	(3,784)	(22)	(1,326)	(34)
Separated	583	4	97	2
Widowed	2,464	14	1,547	40
Divorced	1,070	6	166	4
TOTAL	17,352	100	3,897	100

Older Filipino women have completed a median of 4.9 school years, while their male counterparts have completed 5.4 years. Almost 17 percent of the women and 17.3 percent of the men are high school graduates.

Of the older Filipino women, 11.4 percent remain active in the labor force, and 32.1 percent of the men in this age cohort continue to serve in the labor force.

Of the 399 older Filipino women who were reported as being employed in 1970, 39 percent were serviceworkers, with half in private households; 16 percent did clerical work; and 10 percent were operatives. Additionally, 15 percent were reported as professional and technical workers, and 9 percent were in the managerial category. The occupational distribution of older Filipino men in 1970 was 36 percent serviceworkers, 36 percent laborers, 8 percent operatives, and 5 percent craftsmen. Only 4 percent appeared in the professional and technical classification and 3 percent in the managers and administrators category.

The median income for elderly Filipino women, as might be expected, was substantially less than that reported for men of the same age--$1,215 and $2,627, respectively.

Japanese Elderly

Of the total Japanese population aged 65 and over in 1970, there were 26,654 women and 20,505 men. A majority of the women were widowed, as shown in table 4. Older Japanese men, on the other hand, were generally married.

TABLE 4

MARITAL STATUS OF ELDERLY JAPANESE-AMERICANS BY SEX, 1970

	Male		Female	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Single	1,484	7	1,150	4
Married	14,833	72	8,348	35
Separated	241	1	157	1
Widowed	3,389	17	15,428	58
Divorced	558	3	571	2
TOTAL	20,505	100	26,654	100

Very little difference appeared between older Japanese women and men in educational attainment. Women had completed a median of 8.3 school years, and men had finished 8.5. Elderly Japanese men had a slightly higher percentage of high school graduates--27.3 percent compared to the women's 25.4 percent.

Twelve percent of the Japanese women age 65 and over, compared with 29.3 percent of the men in the same age category, were reported in the labor force in the 1970 census. Of the employed older Japanese women, 25 percent worked in private homes and an additional 14.2 percent were serviceworkers outside private homes. The women were also employed as farm laborers (9.9 percent), clerical and kindred workers (9.2 percent), and salesworkers (6.3 percent). Older Japanese men were employed as laborers (22.3 percent), serviceworkers (13.7 percent), and managers and administrators (10.5 percent). Another 9.9 percent were farmers or farm managers.

The median income for men, while relatively low, was nonetheless almost double that for elderly Japanese women--$2,482 versus $1,312.

Comparison of Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese Census Data

Tables 5, 6, and 7 summarize the previously described characteristics for elderly Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women and men age 65 and over according to 1970 census data. As table 5 shows, only among the Japanese elderly did the number of women exceed men, a pattern which is generally consistent with the United States as a whole. The sex imbalance among elderly Filipinos reflects immigration patterns. This is also true of the Chinese and Japanese, but the effects are not as pronounced in the overall sex distribution.

TABLE 5

AGE AND SEX FOR CHINESE, FILIPINOS, AND JAPANESE
IN THE UNITED STATES, 1970

	Total	65+	Male	(%)	Female	(%)
Chinese	431,583	26,856	15,244	(57)	11,612	(43)
Filipinos	336,731	21,249	17,352	(82)	3,897	(18)
Japanese	588,324	47,159	20,505	(43)	26,654	(57)

A majority of the Chinese and Japanese women age 65 and over are widows, as are 40 percent of the elderly Filipino women. The percentages of elderly Chinese and Japanese widows (53 percent and 58 percent, respectively) are consistent with the national average of 52 percent (Brotman, n.d., p. 2).

In median number of school years completed and percentage of high school graduates, women in each group compared unfavorably with men. The sex difference was smallest for the Japanese. In addition, Japanese women had several more years of schooling than Chinese and Filipino women of the same age. Table 6 contains a summary of the median school years completed and the percentage of high school graduates for elderly women and men in each of the Asian groups under examination.

TABLE 6

MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED AND PERCENTAGE OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES FOR ELDERLY CHINESE, FILIPINOS, AND JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES BY SEX, 1970

	Median Sch. Yrs. Completed		% High Sch. Grads.	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Chinese	6.7	4.4	21.3	15.5
Filipinos	5.4	4.9	17.3	16.6
Japanese	8.5	8.3	27.3	25.4

It is anticipated that succeeding cohorts of elderly Asian-Pacific women will attain higher educational levels and more will complete high school. As a result, the educational gap between elderly Chinese men and women, Filipino men and women, and Japanese men and women will eventually diminish.

Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese women compare unfavorably with national averages for educational attainment. In 1970, the national average for women over 65 was 9.0 median years of schooling, and 8.8 for men. Only Japanese women and men approached these levels.

Table 7 contains figures for labor force participation and median incomes by ethnic group and sex, as reported by the 1970 census. It is significant that greater proportions of Asian-Americans than of Americans as a whole remained in the labor force after the age of 65. Equally significant, Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino women had substantially lower median incomes than did their male counterparts.[1] The median income for elderly Japanese women was slightly greater than the levels reported for elderly Chinese and Filipino women. When compared with the total 65-plus population in the United States, Asian-Pacific elderly fared poorly.

TABLE 7

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND MEDIAN INCOMES FOR ELDERLY CHINESE, FILIPINOS, AND JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES BY SEX, 1970*

	Labor Force (%)		Median Income	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Chinese	3,778 (24.8)	1,395 (12.0)	$1,943	$1,188
Filipinos	5,574 (32.1)	445 (11.4)	$2,627	$1,215
Japanese	6,011 (29.3)	3,998 (12.0)	$2,482	$1,312
Entire U.S.	1,900,000 (22.0)	1,000,000 (8.0)	$2,642	$2,087

*Entire U.S. data from AoA (1975) and Brotman (n.d.)

Elderly women in all three Asian groups were primarily employed in several categories, including operatives, serviceworkers, sales, laborers, clerical, and farmers. They worked in typically low-paying occupations. Their male counterparts were frequently employed in the same occupational categories, although more men held managerial and administrative positions. Those who were fortunate enough to hold managerial and administrative positions did not always receive commensurate incomes since many operated economically marginal small restaurants, laundries, and small shops.

Life expectancy data, population projections and trends, age-generation characteristics, and other critical information are not presently available for elderly Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos. Even more serious is the blatant absence of basic data for each of the other Pacific Island and Asian groups. As a result, the picture presented thus far is obviously incomplete.

Although knowledge of sociodemographic characteristics is helpful in developing an awareness and appreciation of elderly Asian-Pacific women in the United States, many other factors also must be taken into account. Some of these will be considered in the sections to follow.

FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING ELDERLY ASIAN-PACIFIC WOMEN

There are strong indications that elderly Asian-Pacific women experience the same problems and difficulties which affect all older women in such areas as employment, income, health, education, and housing. Unlike most older women, however, the problems of Asian-Pacific women are aggravated not only by widespread sexism and agism, but also by racism (i.e., past and present exploitation and injustices) and stereotypic misconceptions that pervade society at large. Asian women have been victimized by discriminatory laws, including the Chinese Foreign Miner's Tax, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, the Japanese alien land laws, the Filipino Exclusion Act of 1934, and such practices as the internment of persons of Japanese ancestry in 1941 and the denial of citizenship to first-generation Asians (see appendix for summary). All these injustices took a heavy toll. They led to feelings of distrust and fear of government, helplessness, and vulnerability and powerlessness, which alienated them from society at large (Owan 1975, p. 52).

Model Minority Image

Asian-Americans have often been viewed incorrectly within the context of a model minority image (Bell et al. 1976; Kitano 1969), which stresses the belief that the family and ethnic community customarily take care of the weak, disadvantaged, and disabled so that they do not become dependent on public agencies and institutions. Asian-Americans are victims of the public impression that they are independently cared for by their families and, therefore, do not need assistance. "The stereotyping of Asian-Americans as 'successful models' has lulled the American public to consider Asian-American concerns as secondary to the problems of other minority groups" (Owan 1975, p. 22). Testimony given at the Special Concerns Session on Asian-American Elderly of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging asserted:

> This emasculating myth that discriminates against Asian-American elderly is that the Asian-American aged do not have any problems, that Asian Americans are able to take care of their own, and that Asian-American aged do not need or desire aid in any form. Such assertions which are generally accepted as valid by the larger society, are false . . .(1972, p. 2).

The model minority image cast on Asian-Americans was the established motif of the literature of the 1950's and the 1960's, with "most of it focusing on the successful acculturation of the youngest generations and the problems inherent in the marginal acculturation of the middle generations" (Bell et al. 1976). In the 1970's, the model minority thesis has been severely criticized (Kim 1973; Kuramoto 1971). Critics generally agree that the stereotype of Asians as a model minority fails to explain their underutilization and nonutilization of public social and health services along with their full participation in other aspects of American life. Instead, immigration patterns, cultural differences, language barriers, and racial discrimination often impede Asian-Pacific elderly from participating in public service programs. In addition, they often share "a special reluctance to seek out welfare assistance, due to the shame embedded deeply in the Asian culture" (JACL, n.d., p. 2). The model minority stereotype has especially affected elderly Asian-Pacific women. Today, many do not know what they are entitled to, nor are they experienced and confident in making decisions about finances, employment, and other aspects of daily living.

The status of elderly Asian-Pacific women involves much more than their present attributes and circumstances. They must be viewed within a much broader and hence more complex context which includes their specific immigration histories, cultural backgrounds (i.e., the attitudes and values which the immigrants brought with them and which have been handed down from generation to generation), acculturation proclivities, and experience in American society. "The distinctive immigration and settlement patterns of each group have had profound influence not only on their current demographic profiles, but also on their status and position in America" (Bell et al. 1976, p. 8).

Kalish and Yuen (1971), Kalish and Moriwaki (1973), Lyman (1970), and Bell et al. (1976) have described the immigration experiences and cultural backgrounds of Asian-Americans, particularly the Chinese and Japanese. Kitano (1969), Caudill (1952), Sung (1967), and Sue (1973) have examined acculturation proclivities and experiences in American society. Nonetheless, it should be reiterated that there is to date no definitive analysis of Asian-Pacific women aged 65 and over.

Kalish and Moriwaki (1973) offer a framework for understanding elderly Asians which requires knowledge of their cultural origins and the effects of early socialization, their life history in the United States and Canada, age-related changes that occur regardless of early learning or ethnicity, and their expectations as to what it means to be old. Without this knowledge, the authors contend, not only understanding but also theorizing about elderly Asians cannot be achieved.

Culture and early socialization encompass specific Asian values which relate to growing old or being old, and traditional practices which have special meaning for the elderly. Today's elderly Asians were often taught, according to custom, that they were duty-bound to care for their aged grandparents. Even though first-generation Asians typically did not make similar obeisance because they no longer lived near enough to carry out the obligation, the expectation and practice have not disappeared totally. Gradually, family traditions are yielding to more democratic and independent practices. Younger generations no longer assume that familial interdependence is the answer to the financial, social, or health needs of their parents and grandparents.

Knowledge of the life history, according to Kalish and Moriwaki, encompasses immigration and current experiences in the United States. For the Chinese, immigration dates back to the mid-1800's. The Japanese arrived later, during the last 15 years of the 19th century and the first 2 decades of the 20th century. The Filipinos and Koreans soon followed, as did other Asians.

Growing old in all societies means some losses, such as reduced physical strength, inadequate retirement income, mandatory retirement policies, and the death of relatives and friends. The relationship between old age, on the one hand, and illness, redirection of function, and death, on the other hand, for Pacific-Asian elderly needs substantial clarification. Kalish and Moriwaki suggest that expectations about the meaning of old age must be considered. Asian immigrants came to America expecting to be rewarded for their labors by enjoying respect in the community and in their families in their later years. Yet in a society where the rewards for achievement and productivity accrue to the individual, rather than to the family or group, and where future potential is more important than past accomplishments in evaluating the worth of a person, the elderly are often perceived as irrelevant or are forgotten and ignored. The current generation of elderly Asian-Americans are caught between their native country's values and those of their adopted homeland. They seem to accept American values, inasmuch as they do not wish to be a burden to their children. At the same time, however, they still view old age as a period when they are entitled not only to financial support, but to personal care and virtual devotion. While many escaped the demands of filial piety, they did not escape accepting its importance.

Status of Elderly Asian-Pacific Women

Many of today's elderly Asian-Pacific women function within a family system that has a prescribed social hierarchy which takes into account age, sex, and generation. In the Chinese family system, for example, the Confucian philosophy specifies prescribed statuses which give every man and woman a definite place in society (Fong 1973, p. 116). If everyone knows his/her place and acts in accordance with his/her position, social order is believed to be assured. The members of the elderly generation are purportedly superior to those of the younger generation. Moreover, males occupy a superior position in relation to females.

According to Fujitomi and Wong, "in Asian families, roles are well defined; the father is the decisionmaker and the mother is the compliant wife. Thus, Asian sisters soon come to perceive their roles as inferior to all men" (1973, p. 252). Some elderly Asian-Pacific women have challenged, and in some instances abandoned, traditional roles and prescribed statuses. But it appears that the majority still adheres to differential and inferior sex roles.

Customarily, elderly Asian-Pacific women derive social status from their husbands and not by their own right as individuals. That is, women are frequently measured in terms of their husbands' accomplishments. Single women (those who have never married, and even widows) are often treated as social inferiors or outcasts. Moreover, elderly Asian-Pacific women have been stereotyped with an image of passivity, submissiveness, and acquiescence. As a result, it has been tremendously difficult for them to develop a positive self-image.

Clearly, contemporary elderly Asian-Pacific women have not been an active force in the women's movement--understandably, given cultural constraints and their experiences in the United States. For the most part, they have married young, raised families, and maintained a home. They have not had extensive formal education or careers outside the home. Those who worked did so because of economic necessity, and they labored arduously in low-paying jobs. Generally, today's elderly Asian-Pacific women have not participated in activities outside the ethnic community, and even this participation has been limited to secondary roles in church and kinship organizations.

Widowhood

Since so many elderly Asian women in the United States are widows, their status deserves special consideration. Although Asian and Pacific Island cultures prescribe social roles for the housewife and mother, they give less attention to widows. Asian-Pacific widows often experience critical role loss because their cultures place greater emphasis on men and, consequently, on the roles of husband and father. Today's elderly Asian-Pacific women have typically been dependent on their husbands throughout their entire married life. Widowhood is of course very stressful for all women. Such relatively simple matters as maintaining a checking account or finding part-time employment may be quite traumatic. Most widows must also deal with loneliness and the use of leisure time. For many Asian-Pacific women in particular, widowhood may also be a period of extreme economic hardship if they were dependent on their husbands' retirement income.

RESEARCH CONSIDERATIONS

Research focusing on Asian-Pacific women in such areas as health status, sociodemographic characteristics, immigration histories, educational and occupational experiences, and the multiple effects of racism, agism, and sexism is critically needed. Consideration should be given to the older segment of Asian-Pacific populations in order to ascertain significant age-related differences. Such research, to be helpful to the Asian-Pacific communities, must be directly applicable to the development of service programs and/or modification of existing services and the formulation of more equitable social and economic policies. Action-oriented, directed research must be encouraged and publicly and privately supported. Moreover, research dealing with segments of Asian-Pacific communities might very well entail the adoption of nontraditional approaches. Every effort must be made to involve individuals from Asian-Pacific communities in all aspects of research design development and implementation. The products or payoffs of any particular research endeavor must be carefully delineated at the outset.

While there is great need to better comprehend contemporary Asian-Pacific elderly women, it is equally important and desirable to learn more about succeeding cohorts. Such information will be useful in preparing and educating Asian-Pacific communities as well as society at large.

Specific areas which require further systematic investigations include the following:

Sociodemographic Studies. As mentioned earlier, sociodemographic information is primarily restricted to the Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese populations. Comparable data should be compiled for all other Pacific Island and Asian populations. Further, to be useful, census data must be presented in greater detail according to age cohorts and immigration status. Additionally, life expectancy rates for elderly Asian-Pacific people (both men and women), population projections, and age-generation data should be compiled.

Educational and Occupational Experiences. A more thorough examination of educational and occupational characteristics and experiences of elderly Asian-Pacific women is desirable, especially as related to each of the dimensions discussed in the preceding section. For example, census data suggest that there may be a relationship between the low levels of educational attainment among older Asian women and their occupational patterns. The impact of education on occupation and its relationship to income levels need careful analysis, particularly during the retirement years. Also, the effects of language and cultural differences and institutional racism on educational attainment and occupational mobility warrant further exploration.

CONCLUSION

With time, the social and economic outlook for future elderly Pacific-Asian-American women will be significantly altered because of changing rules, continuing acculturation, higher levels of educational attainment, and increasing occupational opportunities. Succeeding cohorts of elderly Asian-Pacific women will undoubtedly assume greater independence with the gradual dissipation of traditional cultural influences and the increasing emergence of women in American society. Good research can help promote an improved status for these women. "The struggle is not men against women nor women against men, but it is a united front striving for a new society--a new way of life" (Tachiki et al. 1971, pp. 297-298). It was stated at the Federal Council on Aging's recent hearing on "National Policy Concerns for Older Women" that:

> There is urgent need for national commitment to immediate improvement of the life situation of older women in this country--a commitment every bit as strong as that required by the civil rights movement in the sixties (1976 p. 1).

This same kind of commitment, reflected in equitable social policies, responsive service programs, and relevant applied research, is required to reduce and eliminate the countless age, sex, and race discriminations in employment, education, and income levels which adversely affect elderly Asian-Pacific women.

NOTE

[1] Retirement benefits (social security and public and private pensions) are the most prevalent and important sources of income for the elderly. Income derived from wages ranks next in importance, followed by that from assests in real estate and investments, and then public assistance in some form.

[The bibliography for this paper was not available at the time of publication.]

ASIAN WIVES OF U.S. SERVICEMEN: WOMEN IN TRIPLE JEOPARDY

Bok-Lim C. Kim

INTRODUCTION

"A journey of a thousand miles begins with but a single step." This old Chinese proverb may well describe the giant step taken by thousands of Asian women each year as they reach American soil to begin new lives as spouses of American men in the United States. Since the end of World War II, nearly 200,000 of these Asian women, better known as "war brides," have immigrated to the United States. Yet little is known of them in terms of their demographic characteristics, aspirations, and frustrations, or of the needs and problems they encounter in adjusting to a newly adopted country.

While all interfaith, interethnic, and interracial marriages demand considerable flexibility and tolerance from the marriage partners, they do not require the massive adjustments expected of the Asian wife in America. These intermarriages involve the additional dimension of one partner's immigration and adaptation to the spouse's country, which is vastly different from her own. Moreover, few, if any, organized services have been available to these Asian wives and their families to facilitate successful transitions from one culture to another.

A primary purpose of this article is to describe this special Asian female population in the United States and to present the problems its members encounter in adapting to the American way of life. This information has been drawn from immigration data, available studies, and the casework experience of this author and others like her, including ministers from ethnic churches and chaplains of military bases both here and abroad who have had direct contact with Asian women in times of crisis. This article deals with Japanese, Korean, and Filipino wives, three of the largest groups of Asian wives in America. However, the greatest part of the data is concerned with Japanese and Korean wives, a fact which may be related to their greater concentration and accessibility in metropolitan areas and military posts, where most of the research took place.

How do we explain the existence of Asian war brides? Do we attribute it to the romantic passion or cunning of the individuals involved? Or is the answer to be found in other circumstantial factors, such as the sociopolitical conditions which prevailed in Japan, Korea, and Vietnam, social norms, group affiliations, or socioeconomic backgrounds?

The literature on intermarriage looks at the phenomenon from a number of different perspectives. Generally these break down into "sociological" perspectives, which look at objective circumstances or social conditions that are associated with intermarriage, and "psychological" perspectives, which identify subjective characteristics such as alienation, rebellion, and the like, to explain the phenomenon.

In the case of Asian war brides, the "sociological" perspectives such as those provided by Gordon (1964) and, especially, Merton (1972), seem to provide the most appropriate explanation of the situation. Gordon has given a generalized definition of "intermarriage" as "those married persons whose religious, racial, or ethnic background is or was different from each other's, either prior to, or after their marriages."[1] Merton's definition not only recognizes these functional differences, but provides us with a more precise and analytically useful framework:

> The marriage of persons deriving from those different in-groups and out-groups other than the family which are culturally conceived as relevant to the choice of a spouse . . . . The standardized rules of intermarriage range from prescription and social approval to proscription, and social disapproval. These polar extremes give rise to two distinguishable types of intermarriage; the first representing conformity to the rules, called exogamy; the second, involving prohibited deviation from the rules, may be called cacogamy.[2]

In other words, Merton distinguishes between norms regarding marriage and practices. Factors such as "group size, sex ratio, age composition, and degree and kind of intergroup contacts" are seen as conditions which affect "the incidence and direction" of intermarriage.[3]

In general, Asian war bride marriages fall into the category of cacogamy. Traditional Asian cultural norms proscribe marriage outside of one's own ethnic group, and the marriages of Asian war brides deviate from these norms. Similarly, white American norms do not prescribe marriages with nonwhites, particularly foreigners. It is these social proscriptions that play a significant role in the eventual fate of Asian war brides, their marital relationships, and their families in America.

INTERRACIAL RELATIONSHIPS IN ASIA

Although Japan, Korea, Vietnam, and the Philippines are distinct from each other in terms of location, language, culture, and history of foreign domination, the intermarriage of their women with U.S. servicemen appears to have some common background. Each country except the Philippines has experienced the unusual sociopolitical event of war and the prolonged occupation of its territory by foreign troops. Through war and occupation, all three countries have suffered massive losses of human life and the physical destruction of their environments. The general population of each country has been uprooted several times over, and most citizens have become refugees within their own countries for varying lengths of time. The majority of these native citizens have lost members of their families, especially young adult male members, through military action. These factors have worked to create an unfavorable sex ratio for nubile women in these Asian countries, as well as to shift the major responsibilities of family support to them.

However, these young women incurred their new responsibilities at a time when the traditional sources of livelihood, i.e., farming, operating a family business, and other outside employment, had virtually disappeared as a consequence of repeated battles and bombing. Ironically, the presence of a large U.S. military force in Asia often offered the only source of employment for local residents. Available jobs included work both on and off the military base as well as catering to military personnel. Thus, war and military occupation introduced unique and powerful elements into the social structures of these host countries, facilitating interpersonal relationships which once would have been unthinkable. In the case of the Philippines, the longstanding U.S. political involvement and the continued presence of American military operations has provided an extensive opportunity for relationships between American men and Filipino women.

Contrary to traditional customs, unmarried Asian women now commonly interact and form personal contacts with American soldiers without parental approval or knowledge. Ariyoshi, in her powerful novel Hishoku, depicts the process through which massive structural upheaval in postwar Japan permitted the heroine, Emiko, to meet and eventually marry a black soldier from Harlem during his military duty in Japan.[4] Similarly, B. Kim (1972) describes the highly fluid social structure in Korea during and after the Korean conflicts of 1950, which allowed personal contacts between significant numbers of unmarried Korean women and American soldiers, some of which culminated in intermarriage.[5] Newspaper stories during the Vietnam war likewise reported frequent contacts and marriage between Vietnamese women and American G.I.'s.[6]

Family and Community Reaction

Within this sociopolitical context, direct personal contacts between unmarried Asian women and U.S. servicemen took place in a variety of settings. Some women met their future husbands when they were employed as clerical, sales, or service workers on the U.S. military bases. Such jobs were generally considered quite respectable as they required a certain level of education, English proficiency, and "proper" conduct. Others met their husbands outside the base, either through work or introduction by friends.

However, once Asian women had begun to date U.S. servicemen, they were uniformly treated with suspicion and contempt by their communities. Some of this hostility was directly related to the community/family suspicion of the U.S. military in general. In some cases, initial skepticism was transformed to general support or resignation.

Some of the psychological conflicts and emotional strain generated by such family and community reactions to interracial relationships are expressed by the women themselves. One Japanese woman who met her American husband through an intermarried friend related:

> I felt like a traitor. I knew my family was deeply hurt and ashamed that I was dating an American G.I. They felt a little better after Joe proposed marriage; even then my family used to worry that my younger sister could not marry a Japanese man from a nice family because I was marrying an American G.I.

Another major factor militating against interracial marriages is the marriage procurement process itself, a complicated procedure. An Asian wife related her mother's continued suspicion of her husband when her visa application was delayed and they were temporarily separated:

> My mother got terribly sick when I told her that I wanted to marry John. She mellowed somewhat after she came to know John better, but he had to go back to the States before we could finish my visa application. My mother got sick again, this time convinced that I was abandoned and that I was ruined for life. I had faith in John, but I lost thirty pounds during the nine months of his absence.

Moreover, studies have revealed that, in most cases, a period of cohabitation preceded legal marriage, an unconventional practice in these countries. One 26-year-old woman, who had supported her sickly mother and younger brother since she was 13 in a variety of positions in domestic, factory, and sales work, commented philosophically about the community's disapproval of her living with an American without marrying:

> They neither feed and clothe my family and me, nor do they care about what happens to us, so why should I worry about what they think? Sure I don't like to be called names, but that is the least of my worries. I have more important things to worry about. I have to support myself and my family.

However, not all skepticism about such unions reinforces alienation from the family and community. One young college woman who met her husband in an English conversation class he taught faced much turmoil when considering his marriage proposal. While her parents offered kind support, their consent was contingent on a reassurance from the groom's parents as to his sincerity and devotion to their daughter. She finally accepted his proposal, her parents requesting the assistance of this author in helping to acquire the skills necessary to be a good homemaker in America.

The brief descriptions of these four situations provide us with some understanding of the traditional reproach, as well as the changing social climate which has fostered interracial contacts, dating, and intermarriage in Japan and Korea.

Negative Responses from the U.S. Military and Consulate Office

After significant numbers of Japanese war brides began to immigrate to America in the fifties, concern and skepticism about the viability of Asian-American intermarriages began to appear intermittently in the American mass media.[7] One example is Michener's novel Sayonara, which was made into a movie that depicted a white American hero who was torn between his love for a Japanese woman and the strong opposition of others who argued the incompatibility of partners of different races and cultures in marriage. In spite of the challenge offered by several research studies that such skepticism may be ill-founded, the commonly held notion of a gloomy, conflict-ridden intermarriage persists.[8]

Often prompted by a sincere but misguided belief that all of these marriages are doomed to fail, most U.S. commanding officers and chaplains discourage them. Richardson (1975) offers a chaplain's perspective when he writes that "simultaneous cultural and marital adjustments are poor bed fellows."[9] Language barriers, separation of the wife from her family and country, inadequate financial resources of the servicemen, and other factors are cited as reasons to counsel against intermarriage.

Unfortunately, many would-be grooms feel that such advice proceeds not from genuine concern, but rather from prejudice against intermarriage. One such husband recalled his frustration:

> The minute I told my commanding officer that I was going to marry Yung-Ja, he acted strange. He asked me to write to my parents about my intended marriage. He also asked me to talk with the base chaplain. The trouble was that my parents had been dead for more than ten years, and I am not a church-goer. Even the guys in my barrack started to act concerned. They invited me for drinks and showed pictures of their sisters and cousins. The trouble was that I was and am very much in love with Yung-Ja, and we had already talked about the difficulties we might face in the United States.

Yung-Ja, who had worked in the same office with John, recalled the reaction of her coworkers.

> As soon as people around my office heard about my engagement to John, they looked down on me. I was made to feel dirty and unworthy. Some soldiers asked me to go out with them obviously thinking that I was now an easy mark for propositions. I quit my work rather than put up with such nonsense.

She could not understand why their attitude had changed after her engagement. She hoped that people in America were not prejudiced against Asian girls who had intermarried. Whatever the rationale, the net effect of such negativism is unnecessary delay and frustration for couples at a time when they need all the assistance and encouragement they can get.

Other hurdles beyond the marriage itself include obtaining a passport and a U.S. visa for the wife. A security check, physical examination, and seemingly endless sets of documents must be submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the wife's Government and the United States Consulate. Two years could elapse between the application for and issuance of the passport and visa; meanwhile, the anxiety and expense involved might easily discourage even the most determined and affluent couples.

Intermarried Couples in the Native Country of the Asian Wife

An intermarried couple living in the native country of the Asian wife has relatively little adjustment to make after their legal marriage. The wife continues to live in her familiar environment; she speaks her own language, interacts with her family and friends who may also be intermarried, and eats her native food. The husband likewise continues to work in the same setting, more likely on the military base, although he may now spend more time with his wife. A legal marriage gives them a sense of security and stability. Military benefits for dependents make them feel affluent, since such benefits stretch much further in the wife's country, where living is less costly. B. Kim (1972) describes the emotional security experienced in these relationships:

> Many of these men discovered that in their relationships to Oriental women their feelings, comfort, and welfare were given precedence. Thus for the first time they felt accepted by solicitous, unquestioning women who respected them. . . . Handicapped by a language barrier, by an ignorance of American culture, and by limited social experiences, these women failed to view the men in realistic terms; they considered them masculine and potential security-giving mates. . . . Marriage to American soldiers symbolized eternal security and happiness, an insurance against suffering and want.[10]

This marriage compatibility changes drastically when the husband takes his Asian bride to the United States. B. Kim (1972) found that the communication difficulty which had once fostered an idealized image of the marriage partner becomes glaringly deficient in adjusting to life in the United States. This and related problems of adjustment will be discussed fully in a later section.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ASIAN WIVES AND THEIR AMERICAN HUSBANDS IN THE UNITED STATES

What, then, are the relevant factors which do affect the "incidence and direction" of intermarriages between Asian women and U.S. servicemen in the United States? One of the difficulties in understanding the conditions of Asian wives of U.S. servicemen has been the unavailability of accurate data from conventional statistical sources on their geographic concentration, number, demographic characteristics, rate of marriage dissolution, etc. However, a rough estimate of the number of the wives can be derived from immigration statistics, shown in table 1 as the number of Asian women admitted to the United States as wives of American citizens, by year and country of origin.

TABLE 1

ASIAN WOMEN IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED TO U.S. AS WIVES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND YEAR (1947-1975)

Year	Japan	Korea	Philippines	Vietnam	Thailand
1975	1,376	2,155	4,388	918	1,727
1974	1,773	2,461	5,101	806	2,141
1973	2,077	2,134	4,744	1,437	2,195
1972	1,626	2,148	4,702	1,599	1,759
1971	2,023	3,033	4,815	1,196	1,481
1970	2,104	2,646	4,056	885	983
1969	1,842	1,954	2,375	550	576
1968	1,845	1,356	2,256	331	304
1967	1,821	1,389	1,846	218	11,166
1966	1,991	1,225	1,511	100	
1965	2,350	1,281	1,518	8,040	
1964	2,653	1,340	1,371		
1963	2,745	1,350	1,445		
1962	2,677	692	1,373		
1961	3,176	405	1,343		
1960	3,887	649	1,481		
1959	4,412	488	1,268		
1958	4,841	410	1,063		
1957	5,003	288	1,069		
1956	3,661	292	934		
1955	2,843	184	958		
1954	2,802	116	788		
1953	2,042	96	675		
1952	4,220	101	667		
1951	125	11	51,747		
1950	9	1			
1949	445	28,205			
1948	298				
1947	14				
	66,681				
Total					165,839

Source: Table 6 of The Annual Report of Immigration and Naturalization Service (1947-1975) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.

These figures can safely be assumed to represent intermarried women, since they represent immigrants to Asian-American ethnic communities with small populations in the United States prior to the 1965 Immigration Amendment, such as the Koreans, Filipinos, Thais, and Vietnamese.[11] However, for the Japanese-American community, with a sizable population of U.S. citizens of Japanese ancestry, many of the wives would not be considered as "intermarried" because of their similar ethnic backgrounds. According to Schnepp (1955) and Strauss (1954), however, the U.S. Consulate in Japan has indicated that two-thirds to three-quarters of the immigrants in this category could be considered intermarried women.[12]

In the absence of more accurate information, table 1 also illustrates the increase and gradual leveling off of numbers of Asian wives immigrating since 1947.[13] The table demonstrates that Japanese wives were the first to enter the United States in the early fifties and that their numbers continued to increase through 1958. Japanese women were followed by Korean wives, whose numbers doubled from 1962 to 1963, reaching an alltime high in 1971. Thai and Vietnamese women followed the two previous groups. Their numbers peaked in 1973. This influx corresponds to the presence of American servicemen in these areas during those periods. The significance of the steady increase of Filipino wives since the mid-fifties may be due to a combination of two factors. First, there has been a sizable number of U.S. servicemen stationed in the Philippine Islands where intermarriage between Filipino women and Americans is a well accepted practice.[14] Thus, there is probably a stable number of intermarried couples who entered the United States as the husbands' overseas assignments terminate. Additionally, increased immigration, combined with a rapidly increasing number of naturalized citizens of Filipino ancestry and an unfavorable sex ratio against men (due to the former discriminatory immigration law), all tend to compel many Filipino American men to seek their brides in the Philippine Islands.[15] Consequently, the large increase of Filipino women entering as wives of U.S. citizens, especially after 1970, may represent increasing numbers of in-married as well as intermarried women.

Seven existing studies provide additional information on these women and their families: DeVos (1959), Homma-True and Atienza (1977), B. Kim (1972), S. Kim (1975), Schnepp (1955), Strauss (1954), and Trebilcock (1973).[16] It should be noted, however, that these studies, from which our data are drawn, may be subject to sample bias in terms of size and location. Table 2 illustrates the sample size and ethnic origin of the Asian wives researched in these studies, and the location and year of each study. There was no uniformity in the method of reporting demographic variables, nor were all the variables included in each study.

The median age of the women in the DeVos and S. Kim studies was from 31 to 35. Studies by B. Kim and Schnepp reported a somewhat younger age range of 26 to 30 years, while the predominant age range for Homma-True and Atienza was 18 to 35 years. The husbands were usually 1 to 4 years older, although 30 percent of the husbands in the DeVos study were from 1 to 9 years younger and 20 percent were 10 to 20 years older than their wives.

TABLE 2

LIST OF INTERMARRIAGE STUDIES BY YEAR, SAMPLE SIZE, LOCATION, AND ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE WIVES

	Sample size and source	Location of the study	Ethnic origin of wives	Year study was completed
DeVos, George A.	30 couples List from the International Institute of San Francisco	San Francisco and Bay Area	Japanese	1958
Kim, Bok-Lim C.	A. 47 couples (U.S. Army Chaplain's Office)	A. Seoul, Korea	Korean	1958
	B. 10 women (Int. Institute of Los Angeles, Calif.)	B. Los Angeles, Calif.	Japanese and Korean	1961
	C. 8 women and some husbands (casework & consultation)	C. Several locations in the U.S.	Japanese and Korean	1964-1972
Kim, Sil Dong	137 women Special list compiled by using ethnic organizational listing	Seattle and Tacoma, Wash.	Korean-----94 Japanese---33 Vietnamese--4 Others------4	1975
Schnepp, G. J. and Yuim, M.	15 couples 5 couples	St. Louis, Mo. Chicago	Japanese	1955
Strauss, A. L.	35 husbands 15 wives	Chicago Chicago	American Japanese	1954
Trebilcock, Dorothy W.	20 couples List of the Korean Club of Greater Lansing, Mich.	Lansing, Mich.	Korean	1973
True, R. and Atienza, R.	8 Filipino women married to Americans	Oakland, Calif. Mental health clinic clients	Filipino	1977

The median educational level of a group studied by S. Kim was between seventh and ninth grade. The same study reported that over one-third had less than a sixth grade education, while less than 10 percent had attended or graduated from college. Homma-True and Atienza reported that half of their sample had less than 6 years of education, but the data for their sample are incomplete. A somewhat higher median educational level of 10.9 years is reported by DeVos, Schnepp, and Trebilcock. According to the same sources, the educational levels of the husbands were slightly higher than those of the wives; i.e., high school graduate and above. About half of the husbands were pursuing a military career, according to B. Kim[17] and S. Kim, and the remaining studies indicated that the husbands were engaged in skilled and semiskilled occupations. This difference is probably due to the proximity to the military setting of both the Kim studies, since none of the other studies listed such a high proportion of husbands pursuing a military career. An exception to the other studies was found in a DeVos group where 20 percent of husbands were in a professional category and 30 percent were in white-collar occupations. Although it is hazardous to venture conclusions about the socioeconomic background of the intermarried group based on the information cited above, the data do suggest that the majority are from the middle to lower-middle classes of our society.

Lack of strong organizational, religious, and group affiliation was uniformly reported in all of the studies which considered both husbands and wives. In addition, meaningful social transaction seemed to be generally lacking, their social contacts being confined to visits with the husband's family, if its members live close by, or with limited numbers of other intermarried couples. DeVos found that over 66 percent of the husbands preferred leisure activities by themselves and only 20 percent mentioned activities which included others. Trebilcock and others characterized the husbands as "loners." This writer's own observation in working with intermarried couples likewise verifies this conspicuous lack of social interaction. However, the wife's own lack of social contacts appears to be more the result of her objective circumstances rather than of her personal choice. For example, the lack of English proficiency, unfamiliarity with the American lifestyle, and inability to get around independently are reality-oriented barriers rather than factors of choice. DeVos, B. Kim, S. Kim, Trebilcock, and Homma-True and Atienza all emphasized this social isolation and loneliness as a debilitating and noxious element for Asian wives in America.

While data on the marital status of Asian wives in the United States are not reliable indicators of marital stability, they do offer some indication of general trends among intermarried couples. Of the S. Kim research group, 76.6 percent were married, 5.8 percent separated, and 14.6 percent divorced. On the other hand, due to sample bias, 100 percent of the DeVos, Schnepp, and Trebilcock groups were married, while 5 of the 8 women studied by Homma-True and Atienza were divorced or separated. Family size, according to S. Kim, reflected a median number of one child for Korean women, while Japanese and Filipina women had a median of two children each. Since direct information about the use of contraception was not solicited by any of the researchers, it is not known whether family size was a function of family planning or was related to age and length of marriage.

The most recent studies of S. Kim and Trebilcock indicate that their groups were equally divided between those who had been in the United States for less than 4 years and those whose residency extended back 15 years or longer.

Thus, the demographic profile of the typical intermarried Asian wife in America that emerges from the studies discussed above is that of a relatively young to early-middle-aged woman who is more likely than not to be presently married and who has completed 8 years of schooling. Her husband has an even chance of being either a few years older, or much older, or younger than she. He is likely to be employed in military service or engaged in skilled or semiskilled work. The couple has two or fewer children and has practically no organizational affiliations, with extremely limited participation in social activities.

FINDINGS OF EXISTING STUDIES

Among the relevant studies there is a range of opinions regarding the relative viability of these intermarriages. In two of the early studies of Japanese-American intermarriages, both Schnepp (1955) and Strauss (1954) report relative harmony and stability in the intermarriages they examined in Chicago and St. Louis. Strauss attributed these findings to two factors: first, he reports marked social selectivity among those who married. Unlike their peers, most intermarried Japanese women were working and living away from home when they met their future husbands, suggesting greater economic and psychological independence on their part. Furthermore, the women were free from any financial or other obligations toward their families, and their parents had not actively sought mates for them as do most traditional Japanese parents. For their part, the American husbands lacked strong religious, ethnic, or organizational affiliations. Thus, there were no conflicting commitments to occupation or family which might otherwise have blocked the mixed marriage. The second factor was related to cultural norms which more easily prepare Japanese women for separation from their families and a transference of loyalties to their husbands and in-laws.

Strauss found that intermarried couples experienced relatively infrequent and mild strain within the marital relationship. This led him to entertain the notion that "mixed marriages may avoid certain strains that are operative in many endogamous marriages." His major point, however, was not so much the infrequency of problems as the fact that "the occurrence or lack of occurrance of these stressful issues is complexly determined . . . and that it is not merely a matter of gross cultural differences necessarily leading to domestic clash."[18]

Schnepp and Yui (1955) considered their entire sample of 20 Japanese-American intermarried couples to have "successful marriages," since none were divorced or considering divorce within the foreseeable future at the time of their study. They attributed this outcome to a number of variables associated with successful marriage; namely the length of courtship, age at the time of marriage, and pattern of marital conflicts and conflict resolution. This study, however, identified the lack of English language skills among Japanese wives as a key problem.

The DeVos study was of an exploratory nature and sought to identify certain personality variables of mixed couples and to define problems or issues in marital adjustment after the immigration of Japanese wives to the United States. The study used both an open-ended questionnaire and a TAT test. However, inasmuch as the study suffers from several methodological and sampling bias problems recognized by the researchers themselves, its findings must be taken with caution. It found American husbands to be dependent, occupationally and socially marginal men who are fearful of open competition and critical of American women as domineering and demanding. Their choice of Japanese wives appeared to be primarily motivated by the expectation that they would be less domineering and more able to provide care and nurturing. The Japanese wives in this study felt inadequate and inferior to American women, describing themselves as subservient, less educated, miserable, and with less freedom. They tended to be passive-aggressive, and they controlled their husbands by catering to their dependency needs. The study further suggested that the intermarried couples experienced social isolation and difficulty in resolving marital conflicts. It contended that the tendency of Japanese wives to ignore conflicts or problems blocked communication and thereby hindered their satisfactory resolution. This study also considered the lack of English language skills on the part of Japanese wives to exacerbate marital problems, curtailing their adjustment to life in the United States.

All three studies tended to minimize or ignore the monumental adjustments required of Japanese wives and to place full responsibility for such adjustment on them. Communication difficulties, for example, were discussed only in terms of the wife's English deficiency, and never in terms of the husband's failure to learn and understand the wife's native language. This type of bias and lack of cultural sensitivity to the responses of Japanese wives was prevalent throughout all three studies, although DeVos did attempt to capture the loneliness of the Japanese wives. These factors raise serious questions about the validity and usefulness of the findings of these studies.

Trebilcock's exploratory study (1974) of 20 Korean-American couples in Michigan identified three patterns of intermarriage: (1) the husband-dominated marriage, (2) the detached marriage, where conflicts and hostility are contained by maintaining distance from each other, and (3) the "third culture potential marriage," where a reciprocal exchange of individual values and expectations transcending cultural boundaries occurs. Although Trebilcock was unable to establish any pattern of relationship between these three types of marriage and the demographic characteristics or personal attributes of her sample, her classifications nevertheless hold potential for use in future research.

Sil Dong Kim's demonstration and research project identified four types of Asian wives in the Seattle/Tacoma area: newcomer, homemaker, unstable, and subcultural. "Newcomers" are those who are new to this country and whose total dependence makes them extremely vulnerable to any insensitivity or hostility on their husband's part. "Homemakers" have established stable and viable marriages over a period of time and can, therefore, be considered successfully married. "Unstables" are those who are either separated, deserted, or divorced, and who are in a highly unstable or crisis situation. "Subculturals" are those who have adjusted after a period of instability. Their stability, however, is achieved through operating bars or massage parlors or working in other occupations considered to be socially deviant. Unfortunately, Kim fails to identify factors associated with becoming a member of any one of the four groups considered in his study. He does suggest that many Asian women encounter limited employment opportunities because they have few marketable skills and an inadequate knowledge of English; he pleads for viable work training or work programs to help such women become self-supporting.

B. Kim (1972) describes problems encountered by intermarried Japanese and Korean women to whom she provided casework services and premarital counseling in social agencies in the United States and in the military chaplain's office in Korea. She suggests that low socioeconomic and educational backgrounds, the inability to reasonably assess a potential partner's strengths and weaknesses prior to marriage, and communication problems are factors which combine to make successful adjustment in the United States extremely difficult. She points out, however, that with appropriate help, these women demonstrate unusual strength and strong motivation to surmount difficulties, ultimately becoming competent wives, mothers, or working women in their newly adopted country. Problem areas identified by Kim correspond closely to those found in the DeVos and Trebilcock studies; i.e., communication problems, loneliness, isolation, and homesickness. However, Kim reports in addition the presence of physical abuse, neglect, and desertion among the more unfortunate cases, and contends that professional intervention is needed to protect some Asian wives and their children from physical violence on the part of husbands.

In their study of a small number of Filipino wives, Homma-True and Atienza (1977) report a pattern similar to that found by researchers with the other groups. The Filipino wives feel isolated, lonely, and homesick. Most suffer from a lack of mobility due to their inability to drive and reluctance to use public transportation. There were also scattered reports of depression, trouble with children, and abuse by the husband.

TASKS AND PROBLEMS FACING ASIAN WIVES IN THE UNITED STATES

Moving to a new country where people look, think, speak, and behave differently is an extremely frightening experience for most people. Asian wives are no exception. For the newly arrived Asian wife in America, the key person is obviously her husband. It is he who must perceive, interpret, and teach her the community values, models of interpersonal relationships, and proper responses in each new situation. This task can be facilitated if members of his family or friends help in orienting and supporting his wife at the beginning of her life in the United States. Failure of a husband to provide this initial guidance and support or lack of substitute sources of assistance creates a crisis situation for the wife.

Most Asian wives complain about homesickness, especially during their first year after leaving their home country, when adjustment tasks are most demanding and quarrels with husbands are more likely to occur. Difficulty in obtaining ethnic food was a problem for many of those residing away from metropolitan areas. Yet by far the most serious source of frustration and anguish is the process of learning and becoming proficient in practical English. The lack of English proficiency is not only the major source of misunderstanding and conflict between marriage partners, but also definitely affects the Asian wife's self-esteem, often making her feel inept and inferior. Her husband does not appreciate how difficult the English language is for an Asian-language speaker. In addition, as their children grow older, they forget the language of their mother and become monolingual in English. The Asian wife begins to feel lonely and neglected by her children and at times even feels that they are ashamed of her because of her poor English! While a driver's license and the ability to independently navigate around town can afford her greater mobility and respect from her husband and children, learning to drive and read street signs represents another major undertaking. In terms of leisure time activities, Asian wives prefer to talk with friends from their native countries rather than with Americans, because of the communication problems.

All of the Asian women with whom this writer has spoken would like to learn English and improve their speaking ability. In addition, they would like to learn homemaking skills geared to conditions in America. It should be emphasized, however, that most would prefer to have a bilingual/bicultural teacher who would be sympathetic to the difficulties they experience in learning all of these new skills.

The majority of Asian women interviewed have experienced periods of isolation from their countrymen for months or years at a time. It is not uncommon for them to spend nights and days in tears and suicidal thoughts. They find their husbands to be generally insensitive or nonsupportive. Husbands, in turn, may respond to the difficulties their wives experience by saying that they themselves managed to live in the Asian country without trauma, forgetting that they had lived on a U.S. military base where they generally maintained an American lifestyle. Even those husbands who are sympathetic to their wives' dilemma appear helpless and unable to comfort them. All of these are fairly common difficulties experienced by most Asian wives when they first arrived in this country.

While initial difficulties are mitigated when in-laws, other intermarried women, or kind neighbors or friends offer to teach them the lifestyles of this country, an undetermined number of women are not so fortunate as to have someone to comfort them in their loneliness and to help them with the task of initial adjustment. The National Inquiry on Needs and Problems of Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen (1975) has reported countless cases of extreme domestic violence committed against these Asian Women.[19] The Inquiry highlighted the severe problems of those Asian women who became known to human service workers through physical abuse, neglect, suicide attempts, and severe depression which necessitated immediate intervention. In the absence of a nationwide reporting and detection system for such abuse and violation, it is difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the exact numbers or prevalence of such cases involving Asian wives. However, it is probable that these numbers are high, since service workers involved in wife abuse problems estimate serious underreporting of such cases.[20]

One woman who came to the United States 10 years ago with an 11-month-old son presented us with a horror story. In-Soon had been married for 2 years when she joined her husband in the United States. He was negligent and irresponsible in sending the necessary documents for her to join him. A day after her arrival, her husband left for a week-long field maneuver without telling her where he was going or how long he would be gone. She was left alone in their barren trailer home without money or groceries. The refrigerator was empty except for a carton of milk for the baby. On the third day, hunger and fear drove her to venture out of the trailer, and she fainted in front of the home. Emergency help was provided by the military, but she could never erase the experience from her memory. It was 3 months before she met another intermarried woman from her country who was helpful. Five years of neglect and abuse ensued before she had the courage and sense to divorce her husband. She is currently enrolled in a manpower training program and hopes to earn a decent living in order to raise her son properly and help other unfortunate women like herself. Most of her 10 years in the United States have been spent in a series of factory jobs with intermittent miscarriages and illnesses.

Unfortunately, hers is not an isolated horror story. There are uncounted hundreds of Asian women hovering in dark corners of this society, filled with fear and in pain, neglected and abused by their husbands. Such women are unable to call for help and incapable of communicating their terror and despair to neighbors who do not know, or do not care to know, what is happening to them. According to the unscientific and casual observation of this writer, their adjustment depends heavily on the husband's primary sensitivity to the wife's needs and distress and his willingness and resourcefulness in mobilizing supportive services on her behalf. However, these situations indicate that crucial community resources, which are not bilingual and bicultural, are grossly inadequate.

Finally, as a word of caution, it should not be assumed that all intermarried Asian wives in the United States are doomed, especially since this writer personally knows several highly successful and happy intermarriages. However, future research should be directed toward the identification of the key variables which contribute to a successful intermarriage.

COMMUNITY RESPONSES

On the organizational level of initiating programs and services for this group of women, a small beginning has been made.[21] A Demonstration Project for Asian Americans in Seattle was funded by the Social and Rehabilitation Service of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to conduct research and to initiate an outreach program in 1973. Unfortunately, support for this program was discontinued after a year, in response to shifting priorities in the Federal Government. An outreach program was initiated at about the same time by the Tacoma Community House under the auspices of the Asian American Alliance. The program was designed to provide services to Asian wives who were either ignorant of or had no access to community service agencies. In addition, both organizations encouraged military and community agencies to be accountable to those women by making services available to them. The Westside Neighborhood Center in Long Beach sponsored a 2-year project to provide mental health services to Asian wives in that area. A Marriage Enrichment Workshop for Interracial Couples was held for 2 days at Fort Campbell Army Base under the auspices of the staff chaplain.[22] In the last few years, sporadic and scattered programs have been started, usually on the initiative of individual chaplains or volunteers on the military bases, in response to visible problems and dramatic evidence presented by the Asian wives themselves. Physical abuse, suicide or attempts at suicide, and psychiatric disorders are crises which require immediate intervention. While present efforts are commendable, they are totally inadequate to serve the population of Asian wives because they lack continuity, adequate resources, and institutional support.

Barriers to the use of community services by these women are found in two areas. First, the ignorance and/or insensitivity of the general public regarding Asian wives is particularly demonstrated in the actions of educational and social service institutions which are turning their backs on the many needs of these women, using budgetary constraints as an excuse. Secondly, the staffing and service delivery procedures of these institutions effectively exclude Asian wives by failing to provide bilingual/bicultural personnel and by upholding a policy of "in office only" interviews and inconvenient service hours.[23]

On a national level, the National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen was organized in November 1975 in response to the National Inquiry that had been held in March of the same year.[24] The Committee has three major objectives:

1. Communication among the individuals, groups, and organizations which are concerned with a variety of problems and unmet needs of Asian wives of past and present U.S. servicemen. The Committee wishes to disseminate information regarding the situation of Asian wives and their families so that adequate and appropriate service can be provided to this largely invisible and neglected population.

2. Advocacy with those organizations which could and should provide needed services to Asian wives and their families. The Committee furthers such advocacy through the collection and documentation of systemic problems and solutions.

3. Serving as a catalyst among appropriate agencies and organizations which are currently involved with, or which should serve, this population. The Committee tries to contact and inform such groups, seek their cooperation in dealing with the problems encountered by Asian wives, and facilitate solutions.[25]

Handicapped by the lack of a paid staff and limited funds, however, the all-volunteer committee has achieved very limited success in informing responsible organizations in both the Federal Government and the military of the existence of problems.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The military involvement of the United States in East and Southeast Asia for the last 3 1/2 decades has brought home a multitude of serious problems and challenges. The intermarriage of Asian women and U.S. servicemen abroad and their subsequent move to the United States is one of the ignored and unmet challenges for American military and human service communities. Nearly 200,000 Asian women and their families have undergone massive adjustments unaided. There will be several thousand more Asian women each year who take that giant step. Some of them will not be able to make the needed transition and adjustments. The casualties of these adjustment failures will continue to confront us in emergency rooms, psychiatric wards, and courts, as they have for the past 2 decades.

With the exception of two earlier studies, Schnepp (1955) and Strauss (1954), all of the studies indicate areas of difficulties and stress which could contribute to marriage dissolution or family disorganization. In addition to strains on the marital relationship, Asian women undergo severe personal disorientation when adjustment cannot be facilitated. Since bilingual/bicultural communication is generally nonexistent, the following recommendations might facilitate the achievement of happy and fulfilling lives for Asian wives and their families in the United States.

1. Systematic data related to the location and demographic characteristics of intermarried couples (Asian women and American servicemen) must be collected and made available to both Asian-American and other larger community social service agencies, so that they can develop service programs for them. At the present time, the lack of such vital information prevents the development of any nationwide service program.

2. A comprehensive multilingual resource book should be developed and distributed to every intermarried couple upon marriage and at ports of entry in the United States. (The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service might participate in its distribution.) Such a resource book should include information concerning legal rights and responsibilities as a spouse and parent, as an immigrant and/or citizen; a consumer practice guide including how to use community resources in health, education, and social services; and organizations to call in emergencies, etc. One section should address matters related to the stresses or conflicts which commonly arise in family life, the role expectations of husband and wife, relationships with in-laws, how problems might be resolved, and where to seek and how to use professional help.

3. Bilingual/bicultural training and orientation classes should be made available to both husband and wife prior and subsequent to settlement in the United States. To achieve the effective communication skills essential to a successful marriage, this responsibility should be shared by both partners. Orientation classes and group meetings in a community where the couple settles would facilitate the wife's transition from one culture to another and provide

the couple with support in establishing their new home.

4. A nationwide hotline system is sorely needed to provide crisis intervention, referral, and followup services to widely scattered and frequently isolated Asian wives. Families of Asian women and community agencies would likewise benefit from such a service. The hotline would be staffed by a multilingual/multicultural team of social workers or allied professionals and volunteers. An additional outcome of the program would be the development of a resource book and training manual for use by local community organization professionals in their work with this population.

5. Support of the National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen in their task of locating resources and developing programs for those whose needs have not been met through family and community groups.

A primary purpose of this article has been to promote greater awareness and understanding of the issues related to the settlement of Asian wives and their families in the United States. During a time when the massive contributions and hardships of early first-generation immigrants are being remembered, it is only fair to recognize that the special population of Asian wives in America also faces great adjustment challenges. Hopefully, Asian communities and responsible government agencies will respond to these women's needs by providing political and financial support for local and national Asian groups to develop or strengthen service programs for Asian wives in America whose needs and problems have been ignored or neglected.

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[1] Albert I. Gordon *Intermarriage: Interfaith, Interracial, Interethnic* (Boston: 1964), p. 1.

[2] Robert K. Merton, "Intermarriage and the Social Structure: Fact and Theory," *The Blending American*, ed. Milton L. Barron (Chicago: 1972), p. 14.

[3] Ibid., p. 12.

[4] Sawako Ariyoshi, *Hishoku--Not Because of Color*, Chuo-Korunsha (Tokyo, Japan: 1965), text in Japanese.

[5] Bok-Lim C. Kim, "Casework with Japanese and Korean Wives of Americans," *Social Casework* 53 (May 1972): 273-279.

[6] "This War's War Bride," *Newsweek* 9 April 1973, p. 78; "For Love or Money: Vietnamese-American Marriage," *Newsweek* 7 September 1970, pp. 50-56.

[7] J. E. Smith and W. L. Worden, "They are Bringing Home Japanese Wives," Saturday Evening Post, 19 January 1952, p. 19.

[8] G. J. Schnepp and A. M. Yui, "Culture and Marital Adjustment of Japanese War Brides," American Journal of Sociology 61 (1955): 48-50; A. Strauss, "Strain and Harmony in American-Japanese War-Bride Marriage," Marriage and Family Living 16 (1954): 99-106.

[9] Frank D. Richardson, "Ministries to Asian Wives of Servicemen: A 1975 Inquiry," Military Chaplains' Review, pamp. 165-108, (Washington, D.C.: Headquarters, Department of Army, Winter 1976), p. 10.

[10] Bok-Lim C. Kim, "Casework," p. 277.

[11] Public Law 89.236, October 1965, also known as the 1965 Amendment to the Immigration Act, abolished the longstanding inequitable quota system which discriminated against immigrants from Asia. Prior to the Amendment, severe restriction of immigrants resulted in small population bases and an unbalanced sex ratio which made family formation extremely difficult. This hindered development of viable Asian-American communities in the U.S.

[12] Schnepp and Yui, op. cit., p. 48; Strauss, op. cit., p. 99.

[13] Six provisions enacted by Congress since 1945 related to the admission of wives, fiancees, and children of citizens of the United States. The first four, enacted between 1945 and 1952, benefited alien wives, fiancees, and children of U.S. citizens in the Armed Forces. Noteworthy in these congressional acts is their discrimination against Asian wives. Although Public Law 271 was passed in December 1945 to permit servicemen's brides to enter the United States, the Law made no provision for Asian war brides. Thus, Asian women were not legally permitted to marry American servicemen and enter the U.S. until the July 1947 amendment.

[14] L. Hunt and R. W. Coller, "Intermarriage and Cultural Change: A Study of Philippine-American Marriage," Social Force 35 (1956): 223.

[15] Euphemistically titled the Philippine Independence Act, the Tydings-McDuffie Law of 1935 limited Filipino immigration to the U.S. to a mere 50 persons a year. Thus family formation was extremely difficult for early Filipino male immigrants.

[16] George A. DeVos, Personality Patterns and Problems of Adjustment in American-Japanese Intercultural Marriages, (Taiwan, China: The Orient Cultural Service, 1973). This was a group research project completed under the supervision of George A. DeVos, Professor of Anthropology, University of California, by the students of the School of Social Welfare in June 1959. Included are: Bok-Lim C. Kim, "Casework"; Sil Dong Kim, "An Analysis of Problems of Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen," (Seattle: Demonstration Project for Asian Americans, July 1975, mimeographed); Schnepp and Yui, "Japanese War Brides"; Strauss, "American-Japanese War-Bride Marriages"; Dorothy W. Trebilcock, "The Individual, Social and

Cultural Implications of the Cross-Cultural Marriage: Korean Wives and Their American Husbands in Michigan," (M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1973). See also Hunt and Coller, "A Study of Philippine-American Marriage." This was the only study of Filipino-American marriages in the Philippines. Information was gathered from interviews with American husbands. The focus of the study was to investigate the modification of cultural patterns occurring as a result of intermarriage.

[17] All of the husbands in the B. Kim study were in the military service at the time of the study, and 50 percent of them expressed their intention of making the Army their career.

[18] Strauss, op. cit., pp. 102, 105.

[19] "Findings of National Inquiries on Asian Women of U.S. Servicemen: Post Consultation Report," ed. by Sil D. Kim who put together the presentations and workshop reports of the 2-day conference held at the Tacoma Community House (March 20-21, 1975) in Tacoma, Washington. A copy of the report (mimeographed) can be obtained by writing to the National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen, Attention: Prof. Kim.

[20] Judith Gingold, "One of These Days--POW Right in the Kisser," Ms. Magazine 5, No. 2 (August 1976): 51.

[21] Mary M. Arimoto, "Reaching Out Service to Asian Women," in Service Delivery in Pan Asian Communities: Conference Proceedings, San Diego, ed. by W. H. Ishikawa and N. H. Archer (San Diego: Pan Asian Coalition, 1975).

[22] Bok-Lim C. Kim and Lester Kim conducted the workshop for interracially married couples in Fort Campbell, Kentucky on June 24-25, 1976. This 2-day workshop was sponsored by Chaplain John Allen of the Office of the Staff Chaplain, Fort Campbell, Kentucky. Altogether 48 persons participated in this bilingual workshop. No writeup has yet been done about this workshop.

[23] For further information, see Bok-Lim C. Kim and Margaret E. Condon, A Study of Asian Americans in Chicago; Their Socio-Economic Characteristics, Problems and Service Needs, October 15, 1975 (unpublished research report). This study was funded by the National Institute for Mental Health. For specific responses and discussion of why Asian Americans do not use community services, refer to table 3.414 and discussion on pp. 80-83. Two hundred copies of this 100-page report were distributed among organizations and individual workers and researchers of the Asian-American community between late 1975 and early 1976. A few selected Federal, State, and local government agencies have also received this report. A copy can be obtained with a nominal fee for reproducing by writing to NIMH Grant Management Division, 5600 Fishers Lane, Rockville, Maryland 20852.

[24] The National Inquiry was supported by the Women's Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, Section on Christian Social Relations Committee on Racial Justice. For more information, see Bok-Lim C. Kim, "Plight of Asian Wives of Americans," Response: United Methodist Women, July-August 1975.

[25] Excerpt from the factsheet of the National Committee Concerned with Asian Wives of U.S. Servicemen. The factsheet can be obtained upon request from the Chair of the Committee, B. Kim.

Appendixes

APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANTS

The names of the conference participants, their roles, their current addresses, and their professional interests are listed below.

Name, Current Affiliation, and Address	Type of Participation	Ethnicity; Professional Interest; Affiliations
Moanikeala Akaka	Discussant Group I	Hawaiian; community organizer
Paige Barber Field Coordinator Alu. Like-ONAP Project Honolulu, HI	Chair Group I	Hawaiian; community organizer
Julia Chang Bloch Deputy Director, Office of African Affairs U.S. International Communication Agency 1750 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. Room 519 Washington, DC 20547	Discussant Group I	Chinese; minority staff director of the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition & Human Needs in 1976
Amado Y. Cabezas Project Director ASIAN, Inc. 1610 Bush St. San Francisco, CA 94109	Paperwriter Group II	Filipino; specialist in demographics and socio-economic studies of Asian-Pacific-Americans
Jacqueline Leong Cheong c/o School Psychology Program Tolman Hall University of California Berkeley, CA 94720	Paperwriter Group II	Chinese; doctoral student in school psychology
Esther Chow, Ph. D. Associate Professor Department of Sociology American University Washington, DC 20016	Discussant Group II	Chinese; sociologist
Alma Kaiama Cooper Division Chairperson General Education Public Services Hawaii Community College Hilo, HI	Cochair Group II	Hawaiian
Dorothy Cordova Director, Demonstration Project for Asian-Americans 810 18th Ave. Seattle, WA 98122	Paperwriter Group I	Filipino; community organizer

Name, Current Affiliation, and Address	Type of Participation	Ethnicity; Professional Interest; Affiliations
Rita Fujiki Elway President, Communication Design 112 Fifth North Seattle, WA 98104	Discussant Group I	Japanese; former chairperson of Washington State Women's Council; cofounder of Washington Asian-Pacific Women's Caucus; former commissioner, National Commission for the Observance of International Women's Year
Lily Wong Fillmore, Ph. D. School of Education University of California Berkeley, CA 94720	Paperwriter Group II	Chinese; linguist; Assistant Dean, School of Education, University of California at Berkeley, in 1976
Pauline L. Fong Director, Management & Technical Assistance Services ASIAN, Inc. 1610 Bush St. San Francisco, CA 94109	Paperwriter Group II	Chinese; economist
Sharon M. Fujii, Ph. D. Office of Intergovernment & Congressional Affairs U.S. Department of Health & Human Services 50 United Nations Plaza, Room 443 San Francisco, CA 94102	Paperwriter Group II	Japanese; gerontologist; Senior Vice President of Gerontological Planning Associates in 1976
Lucie Cheng Hirata, Ph. D. Associate Professor Department of Sociology Director, Asian-American Studies University of California Los Angeles CA 90024	Paperwriter Group II	Chinese; comparative sociologist
Reiko Homma-True, Ph. D. Mental Health Consultant National Institute of Mental Health 50 Fulton Street, Room 373 San Francisco, CA 94102	Paperwriter Group I	Japanese; psychologist and psychiatric social worker
Bok-Lim C. Kim School of Social Work San Diego State University San Diego, CA 92182	Discussant and Paperwriter Group II	Korean; social work educator; Associate Professor at the Graduate School of Social Work, University of Illinois at Urbana
Fe Loo, Ph. D. c/o R. V. Loo, M.D. 1810 Laura Ln. College Station Texas	Paperwriter Group I	Filipina & Chinese; nursing educator; chairperson of the Department of Nursing, Berea College, in 1976

Name, Current Affiliation, and Address	Type of Participation	Ethnicity; Professional Interest; Affiliations
Juanita Tamayo Lott Director, Program Analysis Division, Office of Program Planning & Evaluation U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1121 Vermont Ave. N.W. Washington, DC 20425	Paperwriter	Filipina; survey and policy researcher; Acting Director, Office of Asian-American Affairs, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare, in 1976
Antoinette (Metcalf) MacIntyre, Ed. D. Educational Consultant 7090 East Exposition Denver, CO 80224	Discussant Group I	Chinese; specialist in bilingual multicultural education as an administrator and teacher/trainer; areas of specialization: legal aspects, program/curriculum development, program modeling, equal access to education
Jovina Navarro, Ph. D. Department of Counseling & Psychology California State University San Jose. CA	Discussant Group II	Filipina; community organizer and psychologist; formerly with the Applied Behavioral Sciences & Asian-American Studies Department, University of California at Davis
Le Nga Executive Director Vietnam Resource Center 5621 South Black Stone Chicago, IL 60637	Discussant Group I	Vietnamese
Fe C. Nievera Staff Specialist Division of Professional Support Services American Hospital Association 840 North Lake Shore Dr. Chicago, IL 60611	Paperwriter Group I	Filipina; community organizer active in Asian-American minority concerns; member of the Asian and Pacific-American Advisory Committee to the 1980 Census on Housing and Population
Setsuko Matsunago Nishi, Ph. D. Department of Sociology Brooklyn College & Graduate Center Brooklyn, NY 11210	Chair Group II	Japanese; sociologist, professor, and consultant
Masako Murakami Osako, Ph. D. Adjunct Assistant Professor Department of Sociology University of Illinois at Chicago Circle P.O. Box 4348 Chicago, IL 60680	Paperwriter Group II	Japanese; sociologist and gerontologist; Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology & Anthropology, Lake Forest College, in 1976
Canta Pian Director Division of Asian-American Affairs Department of Health and Human Services 200 Independence Ave. S.W. Room 415E Washington, DC 20201	Paperwriter Group II	Chinese; anthropologist; senior associate with Rj Associates, in 1976

Name, Current Affiliation, and Address	Type of Participation	Ethnicity; Professional Interest; Affiliations
Lillian Kwok Sing 3360 Geary Blvd., Suite 305 San Francisco, CA 94118	Discussant Group I	Chinese; attorney specializing in immigration law
Agnes Suzuki 115 Sand Hill Amherst, MA 0100	Discussant Group I	Japanese
Tin Myaing Thein, Ph. D. Asian/Pacific Women's Network, Inc. 11650 Iberia Pl., Suite H San Diego, CA 92128	Discussant Group II	Burmese; anthropologist and demographer; research associate with the University Research Corporation in 1976, a member on the President's Advisory Committee for Women
Mary I. Watanabe, Ph. D. 2218 Locust St. Philadelphia, PA 19103	Cochair Group I	Japanese-American; biochemist, retired; National President of the Pacific/Asian Coalition
Germaine Wong Office of Chief Administrative Officer Room 271 City Hall San Franciso, CA 94102	Discussant Group I	Chinese; community activist; former Coordinator of Asian-American Studies at Berkeley; with Chinese for Affirmative Action in 1976

The following Asian women were observers at the Conference:

Ewai Chan
Co-coordinator, Chinese Women in Action
Board Member, Advocates for Women
Latitude 38°
3470 Sacramento Street
San Francisco, CA 94121

Margaret Ho
431 Nahua Street #1402-A
Honolulu, HI 96815

Ruby Tom
San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women
1717 Jones Street
San Francisco, CA 94109

Gwen Wong
Chief, Branch of Community and Outreach Programs
Women's Bureau, DOL
Washington, DC

Tina Tong Yee
Chinese Women in Action
100 Cole Street
San Francisco, CA 94117

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE OF NIE-FUNDED PROJECTS

The projects listed in this appendix include institutional grants, contract awards, and small and large research grants in progress during 1980. The projects selected for this list are expected to be of special interest to the readers of the proceedings from the minority women's conferences and are culled from a much larger set of awards relevant to minority and women's issues. They should not be considered representative of all NIE-sponsored minority- and women-related projects. Obviously, although NIE will continue to fund projects that address similar issues and the problems of these target populations, the specific substantive areas and focus of inquiry will change from year to year.

Readers interested in more comprehensive and detailed information concerning NIE-sponsored research on minority and women's issues are invited to write for the following publications from: Publications Office, The National Institute of Education, 1200 19th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20208.

1. Minorities and Women's Program
2. A compendium of bilingual education and related projects
3. Sex equity in education: NIE-sponsored projects and publications.

The projects in the following list are arranged according to the program groups monitoring them: Teaching and Learning (T&L), Dissemination and Improvement of Practice (DIP), and Educational Policy and Organization (EPO).

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
National Center for Bilingual Research	Candido Antonio de Leon 4665 Lampson Avenue Los Alamitos	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Research in language acquisition, language functioning, bilingual education; publications.
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education	Joel Gomez 1500 Wilson Blvd. Rosslyn, VA 22209	Reading & Language Studies, T&L; Office of Bilingual Education	Computerized database; information services; technical assistance; toll-free hotline (800)336-4560; 40 language groups
Bilingual effects of community and schools	Steven Arvizu Cross-Cultural Resource Center, California State University Sacramento, CA 95819	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Mexican-American, Puerto Rican & Chicano Students; home and school relationships

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
Bilingual effect of community & schools	Sau-lim Tsang ARC Associates, Inc. 310 8th Street, Suite 220 Oakland, CA 94607	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Chinese students language attitudes; language assessment
Bilingual effects of community & schools	Dillon Platero Navajo Center for Educ. Research 1200 West Apache Road Farmington, NM 87401	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Navajo students
Sources of individual differences in second language acquisition	Lily Wong Fillmore University of California Berkeley, CA 94720	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Cantonese & Spanish-speaking kindergarten students, learning style, social style
Sociolinguistics of literacy: an historical & comparative study	Bernard Spolsky Univ. of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87131	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Model of literacy; Cherokee, Jewish, Navajo, New Mexican, Aymara & Polynesian languages
Oral narratives of bilingual Mexican-American adult basic education	Nancy Ainsworth Michigan State University East Lansing, MI 48824	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Ethnography of speaking; classroom activity
Oral language acquisition among Cherokee	Barbara Powell P.O. Box 769 Tahlequah, OK 74464	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Rural children; mother/child interaction
Relating reading skills of minority bilingual personnel to reading demands of work	Concepcion M. Valadez Univ. of California Los Angeles, CA	Reading & Language Studies, T&L	Minority & bilingual persons, industry training job placement
Social organization of participation in four Alaskan cross-cultural classrooms	Wendy Rosen Center for Cross-Cultural Studies Univ. of Alaska Fairbanks, AK 99701	Teaching & Instruction T&L	Native and nonnative teachers; Koyukon Athabaskan Village
Interaction effects of school & home environments on students of varying race, ethnicity, class, & gender	William J. Genova 385 Elliot St. Newton, MA 02164	Teaching & Instruction, T&L	American Chinese, Portuguese, Carribean Black, Armenian, Irish & Jewish students
Social influences on the participation of Mexican-American women in science	Patricia MacCorquodale Southwest Institute for Research on Women, Univ. of Arizona Tucson, AZ 85721	Learning & Development, T&L	Factors facilitating & preventing female participation in Science
Cultural integration of Asian-American professional women	Esther Chow American University Massachusetts & Nebraska Ave. Washington, DC 20016	Learning & Development, T&L	Career development; questionnaire
Development of a guide for research on Asian-Pacific women: Korea & Japan	Hesung Chun Koh Human Relations Areas Files, 2054 Yale	Learning & Development, T&L	Analytic & quality control information; reference guide
Language & cultural determinants to mastery of mathematics concepts by undergraduate Native American students	Charles G. Moore Northern Arizona University Flagstaff, AZ 86011	Learning & Development, T&L	Interviews in university & communities, Hopi; Navajo, Apaches; Hualapais
A Neo-Piagetian approach to test bias	Edward A. DeAvila P.O. Box 770 Larkspur, CA 94939	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation, T&L	Cultural differences test validity, test bias, Anglo, Black, & Mexican-American students

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
An ethnographic analysis of testing & the Navajo student	David Bachelor Southwest Research Associates P.O. Box 4092 Albuquerque, NM 87196	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation, T&L	Classroom observation of testing process
Effects of testwiseness on the reading achievement scores of minority populations	Stephen Powers Tucson Unified School District, Research & Evaluation Dept. 1010 E. 10th St. Tucson, AZ 85719	Testing, Assessment & Evaluation,	Black, Mexican-American, Native American, Anglo, elementary & junior high
Patterns of internal and external support structures, world views, & strategies used by urban Indian children who are successful in school	Marigold Linton Minneapolis Public Schools, Indian Education Section 807 N.E. Broadway Minneapolis, MN 55413	Home, Community & Work, T&L	Urban schools; parental interviews
Puerto Rican children's informal learning events at home	Evelyn Jacob Center for Applied Linguistics 3520 Prospect St. N.W. Washington, DC 20007	Home, Community and Work, T&L	Observational data; learning events at home
Home-school community linkages: a study of educational equity for Punjabi youth	Margaret A. Gibson California State University Sacramento, CA 95819	Home, Community and Work, T&L	Interviews, comparative case study
Summer institute on advanced study on educational research for Asian Americans	Sau-Lim Tsang Berkeley Unified School District 2168 Shattuck Ave. 3rd Floor Berkeley, CA 94704	Minorities & Women Program, DIP	Courses in research methodology; sociolinguistics
Navajo philosophy of education: its traditional sources and contemporary and national contexts	Dillon Platero Dine Biolta Assn. Univ. of New Mexico Albuquerque, NM 87103	Minorities & Women, DIP	Advanced research
Asian & Pacific American educational research seminars	Kenyon S. Chan National Assn. of Asian & Pacific American Education, P.O. Box 3487 Seattle, WA 98114	Minorities & Women Program, DIP	Professional training; immigrant students; research publications
Increasing participation by minorities & women in advanced study & research in education	Eduardo Marenco, Jr. National Director for Policy Research, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund 28 Geary Street San Francisco, CA 94108	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Civil rights policy research, career development
Capacity building in minority institutions an alternative model for access to non-traditional research opportunities	Maria Cerda Latino Institute 55 E. Jackson, Suite 2150 Chicago, IL 60604	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Latino researchers; publications; research support services
Office for Advanced Research in Hispanic Education	Leonard A. Valverde Univ. of Texas Educational Bldg. #310 Austin, TX 78712	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Policy research; research on immigrant students, bilingual education, overcoming financial inequity

Title	Project Director	NIE Unit	Descriptors
California State Department of Education Program: Increasing participation of minorities & women professionals in educational research	Heidi Dulay Bloomsbury West, Inc. 1111 Market St., 4th Fl. San Francisco, CA 94111	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Study program; mentor relationship
Evaluation training opportunities in Minnesota Indian bicultural project	Will Antell Minnesota Dept. of Educ. Capitol Square Bldg. 550 Cedar St. St. Paul, MN 55101	Minority & Women Program, DIP	Workshop; skill development
National Commission on Working Women	Joan Goodin Nat'l. Manpower Inst. 1211 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Washington, DC 20036	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Working women
School Finance: The problem of equity for poor and minority children	Robert Brischetto Trinity University San Antonio, TX 78284	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Minority group; State legislation
Women Facing Mid-Career Changes	Adeline Naiman Educational Development Center, Inc. 55 Chapel St. Newton, MA 02160	Educational Finance Group, EPO	Career education; Women's Education; Film
The implementation of equal educational opportunity by the Office for Civil Rights in the City of New York	Michael Rebell Rebell & Krieger 230 Park Ave. New York City, NY 10017	Program on Law and Public Management	Civil Rights; administrative reform
Education & the development of an urban female labor	Carl Kaestle Univ. of Wisconsin Madison, WI 53706	Program on Law and Public Management	School industry relationship; sex discrimination
Indian education reform	Myron Jones Indian Education Training, Inc. 1110 Pennsylvania N.E. Albuquerque, NM 87110	Program on Law and Public Management	
Citizen organization: a study of citizen participation in educational decision-making	Don Davies Institute for Responsive Education 704 Commonwealth Ave. Boston, MA 02215	Educational Organizations & Local Communities, EPO	School community relationship, minority groups, urban schools
Women & minorities in the principalship	M. Bagley JWK International Corp. 7617 Little River Annandale, VA 22003	Educational Organizations, and Local Communities, EPO	Minority women, selection and training procedures
Women on law faculties	Susan Weisberg American Bar Foundation 1155 East 60th St. Chicago, IL 60637	Educational Organization and Local Communities, EPO	Women professors, sex discrimination national survey
Urban school organizations and the American working class: an historical analysis	Ira Katznelson Univ. of Chicago 5828 S. Univ. Ave. Chicago, IL 60637	Educational Organizations and Local Communities, EPO	Working class men and women, their institutions, churches, labor unions, and political parties

*U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1980 0-629-701/2992